

Listening to Early Modern Catholicism

Intersections

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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VOLUME 49 – 2017

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/inte



Fr. T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (1948–2016), to whose memory this volume is affectionately dedicated.

Listening to Early Modern Catholicism

Perspectives from Musicology

Edited by

Daniele V. Filippi
Michael Noone



B R I L L

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Cover illustration: Filippo Neri teaches the youth with the help of music, embodying the Horatian precept *miscere utile dulci*. Engraving by Pietro Antonio Novelli from *Vita di S. Filippo Neri [...] in sessanta tavole in rame disegnate da Pietro Antonio Novelli ed incise da Innocente Alessandri* (Venice: 1793).

The audio examples accompanying Ch. 3 by Marco Gozzi and Ch. 14 by Ignazio Macchiarella marked by the special icon are freely available online at <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5311099>.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Filippi, Daniele V., editor.

Title: Listening to early modern Catholicism : perspectives from musicology / edited by Daniele V. Filippi, Michael Noone.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2017. | Series: Intersections : interdisciplinary studies in early modern culture, ISSN 1568-1181 ; volume 49 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017027473 (print) | LCCN 2017034585 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004349230 (E-book) | ISBN 9789004349223 (hardback : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Church music—Catholic Church.

Classification: LCC ML3002 (ebook) | LCC ML3002 .L57 2017 (print) | DDC 781.71/2009—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017027473>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1568-1181

ISBN 978-90-04-34922-3 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-34923-0 (e-book)

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Contents

Notes on the Editors	ix
Notes on the Contributors	x
List of Figures and (Audio) Examples	xiv
Editors' Note	xviii

Introduction 1

Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone

PART 1

The State of Research

- 1 Early Modern Catholicism: The State of Research 21
John W. O'Malley

- 2 Music among the Disciplines in Early Modern Catholicism 35
Robert L. Kendrick

PART 2

Perspectives

- 3 Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy 55
Marco Gozzi

- 4 Musical Dispatches from the Heavenly Jerusalem 79
Colleen Reardon

- 5 Singing the Community: Plainchant in Early Modern *petites écoles* 94
Xavier Bisaro

- 6 Print Culture, Music, and Early Modern Catholicism in Rome 112
Jane A. Bernstein

- 7 'Catechismum modulans docebat': Teaching the Doctrine through
Singing in Early Modern Catholicism 129
Daniele V. Filippi

- 8 Artistic Revival and Conquest of the Soul in Early Modern Rome 149
Anne Piéjus
- 9 'Changing their tune': Sacred Music and the Recasting of English Post-Reformation Identity at St. Alban's College, Valladolid 173
Andrew Cichy
- 10 'Mit singen und klingen': Urban Processional Culture and the Soundscapes of Post-Reformation Germany 187
Alexander J. Fisher
- 11 'Colpe mie venite a piangere': The Penitential Cantata in Baroque Rome 204
Margaret Murata
- 12 Music for the Soul: Death and Piety in Sixteenth-Century Barcelona 233
Tess Knighton
- 13 'Per cagion della musica tutte le strade erano piene': Roles Played by Music in Articulating the Place of Confraternities in Early Modern Roman Society 259
Noel O'Regan
- 14 Confraternity Multipart Singing: Contemporary Practice and Hypothetical Scenarios for the Early Modern Era 276
Ignazio Macchiarella
- 15 Sounds from Fortresses of Faith and Ideal Cities: Society, Politics, and Music in Missionary Activities in the Americas, 1525–1575 301
Egberto Bermúdez
- Index Nominum 327

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List of Figures and (Audio) Examples

Figures

- 3.1 The rubric and the musical incipit concerning *Christ ist erstanden* (at fol. 56r) in the *Antiphonale Pataviense* (Vienna, Johannes Winterburger: 1519), fols. 55v–56r 67
- 3.2 The first page of Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms. α.x.i.11 (15th century), with the hymn *Conditor alme siderum* by Guillaume Du Fay 70
- 3.3 Title page and the folio with the hymn *Veni creator Spiritus* in Giovanni Matteo Asola, *Canto Fermo sopra Messe, Himni, et altre cose ecclesiastiche* (Venice, Vincenti: 1592) 72
- 3.4 Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Hymni totius anni secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem* (Rome, Domenico Basa: 1581) 12: hymn *Veni creator Spiritus*, tenor voice 73
- 3.5 Giovanni Guidetti, *Directorium chori ad usum sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae* (Rome, Robert Granjon: 1582), first page (facing the end of the Preface) 74
- 5.1 Cossard Jacques, *Methodes pour apprendre à lire, à escripre, [à] chanter le plain chant et compter* (Paris, Chez l'auteur: 1633) 324 103
- 5.2 Funeral act of Marie Buat (1616), Laval, Archives départementales de la Mayenne, E dépôt 136/E1 104
- 6.1 Music typeface by Robert Granjon, Rome, 1581–1585 119
- 6.2 *Il primo libro delle laude spirituali a tre voci* (Rome, Alessandro Gardano: 1583), no. 20, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 246(1) 120
- 6.3 *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Rome, Verovio: 1591) fols. 9v–10r. Harvard University, Houghton Library, M 1999 V5 C3 1591 123
- 6.4 Music typeface with beamed notation used in Giovanni Luca Conforti, *Salmi passaggiati sopra tutti i toni* (Rome, Heredi di Nicolò Muzi: 1601–1603) 124
- 8.1 Filippo Neri in the catacombs. Engraving by Pietro Antonio Novelli from *Vita di S. Filippo Neri [...] in sessanta tavole in rame disegnate da Pietro Antonio Novelli ed incise da Innocente Alessandri* (Venice: 1788). Rome, Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri 153
- 8.2 *Cuor maligno e pien di fraude*, from Serafino Razza (ed.), *Libro Primo delle Laudi spirituali da diversi eccl. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composte* (Venice, Rampazetto, ad instantia de' Giunti di Firenze: 1563) 28v 157
- 8.3 *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali, stampate ad instantia della Reverendi Padri della Congregatione dell'Oratorio. Con una Instruzione per*

- promovere e conservare il peccatore Convertito* (Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1577), title page. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 165(2) 160
- 8.4 *Giovenetti con fervore*, from *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali, stampate ad instantia dell Reverendi Padri della Congregatione dell'Oratorio. Con una Instruzione per promovere e conservare il peccatore Convertito* (Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1577) 49. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 165(2) 162
- 8.5 Giovanni Animuccia, *Il secondo libro delle laudi. Dove si contengono mottetti, salmi, et altre diverse cose spirituali vulgari, et latine* (Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1570). Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 265(1) 166
- 8.6 Anon., portrait of Francesco van Aelst, in *Scelta d'alcuni sermoni composti da diversi, et recitati avanti alla santità di n.s. papa Clemente VIII et alcuni illustrissimi cardinali, e nell'oratorio di santa Maria in Vallicella da un fanciullo d'anni VII chiamato Francesco Van Aelst romano* (Rome, G. Facciotti: 1599). Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. B. I. 172 169
- 12.1 The deathbed. Anon., *Arte de bien morir* (Zaragoza: 1483) 237
- 12.2 Heaven. Pere Vall (fl.1405–1411), *Retable of St. Anne*. Cardona, church of Sant Miquel. Detail 238
- 14.1 The ‘stop and go’ process of *cantu a concordu* 280
- 14.2 Falsobordone from Giovanni Agostino Casoni, *Manuale choricanum ab utriusque sexus choricistis concupitum* (Genoa, G.M. Farroni: 1649) 293

(Audio) Examples

The audio examples accompanying Chapter 3 by Marco Gozzi and Chapter 14 by Ignazio Macchiarella marked by the icon have been made available online at <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5311099>. In the e-book dynamic links will be available, so one can simply click on the icon to be redirected to the appropriate website.

- AUDIO EXAMPLE 3.1 *Credo Cardinalis*, from Parma, Fabbriceria del Duomo, ms. F9 (Gruppo vocale Laurence Feininger, Trent) 61
- 3.1a–b Excerpts from two versions of the *Credo Cardinalis* in simple polyphony, from Parma, Fabbriceria della Cattedrale, ms. F9 (version a from the beginning of the ms., fols. A–D; version b from the final fols.) 62–63

- AUDIO EXAMPLE 3.2 Hymn *Conditor alme siderum* (plainchant) (Gruppo vocale Laurence Feininger, Trent) 69
 3.2 Incipit of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, from Guidetti, *Directorium chori* 75
- AUDIO EXAMPLE 3.3 Setting of the hymn *Ave maris stella* by Giovanni Matteo Asola (Gruppo vocale Laurence Feininger, Trent) 76
- AUDIO EXAMPLE 3.4 Incipit of the Credo *Veni creator* by Lodovico Viadana, 1619 (Gruppo vocale Laurence Feininger, Trent) 76
- AUDIO EXAMPLE 3.5 Kyrie *La Regina* from Trent, Library of the Fondazione San Bernardino, ms. Sala 101 (Gruppo vocale Laurence Feininger, Trent) 76
 8.1 Giovanni Animuccia, *Cuor maligno e pien di fraude*, from idem, *Il primo libro delle laudi* (Rome, Valerio Dorico: 1563) 19–158
 11.1a Domenico Mazzocchi, opening of *Piangete, occhi, piangete*. Edited from idem, *Musiche sacre e morali* (Rome, L. Grignani: 1640) 209
 11.1b Mazzocchi, close of *Piangete, occhi, piangete* 210–211
 11.2 Orazio Michi, close of *Empio cor, core ingrato*. Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2472 212
 11.3 Orazio Michi, opening and close of *Son mie, Signor, quelle pungenti spine*. Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2472 214
 11.4 Anon., from *Nella sacra spelonca ch'alteramente onora*. Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2483 217–219
 11.5a Anon., from *Mi son fatto nemico*. Edited from Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4191, fols. 1r–iv (in the facsimile edition: *Anonymous Oratorios in the Barberini Collection of the Vatican Library*, ed. H.E. Smither, The Italian Oratorio 1650–1800 2 [New York: 1986] 299–300) 221
 11.5b Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, from *Mi son fatto nemico*. Edited from BAV, Barb. lat. 4191, fol. 8v (in the facsimile edition: *Anonymous Oratorios* 314) 221
 11.6 Orazio Michi, *Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita*. Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2490, excerpted from mm. 59–92 224
 11.7a Carlo Caproli, from *David prevaricante, e poi pentito*. Edited from Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 16272 226
 11.7b Caproli, from *David prevaricante, e poi pentito*, the close of King David's aria, 'Sono a Dio così gradite'. Edited from ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 16272 227
 11.8 Domenico Mazzocchi, close of *Benché sdegnato del mio fallire*, for two sopranos, bass, and basso continuo. Edited from idem, *Musiche sacre e morali* (Rome, L. Grignani: 1640) 229

- 11.9 Bernardo Pasquini, from the closing duet to *Padre, Signore e Dio*.
Reduced from B. Pasquini, *Le cantate*, ed. A. Nigito (Turnhout: 2012)
486–487 231
- 🔊 (AUDIO) EXAMPLE 14.1 *Miserere* (Music Units 1–2). *Cantu a concordu*
from Santu Lussurgiu. Recording (2009) and transcription by Ignazio
Macchiarella 280–281
- 🔊 (AUDIO) EXAMPLE 14.2 *Miserere* (Music Unit 1). *Cantu a chidasantinu*
from Bortigali. Recording (2015) and transcription by Noemi
Manca 282–283
- 14.3 *Istudiantina* (Music Unit 1). *Cantu a concordu* from Santu Lussurgiu.
Recording (2009) and transcription by Ignazio Macchiarella 284
- 14.4 *Miserere in falsobordone*, from Paolo Ferrarese, *Passiones, lamentationes,*
responsoria, Benedictus, Miserere, multaque alia devotissima cantica ad
offitium Hebdomadae Sanctae pertinentia (Venice, Girolamo Scotto:
1565) 286
- 14.5 Vincenzo Ruffo, ‘Falsobordone settimo (tuono)’, from Bologna, Museo
internazionale e biblioteca della musica, ms. Q12 296
- 14.6 ‘Ad laudes ps. prim. 8 toni’, *Miserere*, from Modena, Biblioteca Estense,
ms. 1.3 (first half of the sixteenth century) 297

Editors' Note

While original spelling is usually retained in quotations from archival documents, occasional adjustments have been made to punctuation and capitalization as an aid to intelligibility. In quotations from early modern published works and from poetry in Italian, spelling and accents have been regularized according to standard modern practice. In quotations from critical editions, however, that edition's reading has been faithfully reproduced. Unless otherwise stated, authors are responsible for the translations in their chapters.

Introduction

Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone

Early Modern Catholicism—a term coined by historian John W. O’Malley in the 1990s¹—has proved to be a useful, if not uncontroversial, historiographical concept. Neutral yet inclusive, it offers a welcome alternative to—or, better still, integration of—such familiar labels as ‘Counter Reformation and Catholic Reform’ or ‘Confessional Catholicism’.² As O’Malley himself states in the contribution that opens the present volume: ‘Early Modern Catholicism is a category not to replace the others but to relativize them by suggesting the greater breadth of the Catholic reality’.³ Early Modern Catholicism appropriately captures both the complexity and the ‘dynamic diversity’ of Catholic experience.⁴ In parallel with ‘early modern era’ (a concept that, in turn, has been questioned, and adopted herein divested of its teleological bias),⁵ the open arms of this category invite us to embrace a *longue durée* perspective.⁶

1 See O’Malley J.W., *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: 2000) 6–8.

2 Among the many discussions concerning the historiographical problem of renaming Catholic experience in the period, see Bireley B., *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, DC: 1999), ch. 1; Po-chia Hsia R., *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*, 2nd ed. (New York: 2005), Introduction; Bedouelle G., *The Reform of Catholicism, 1480–1620* (Toronto: 2008), ch. 1; Clossey L., *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York: 2008), ch. 11; and Ditchfield S., “Tridentine Catholicism”, in Bamji A.–Janssen G.H.–Laven M. (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham – Burlington, VT: 2013) 15–31.

3 See also O’Malley, *Trent and All That* 140.

4 See Comerford K.M. – Pabel H.M. (eds.), *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O’Malley, SJ.* (Toronto: 2001) ix.

5 The shortcomings of ‘early modern’ are thoughtfully discussed in Cave T., “Locating the Early Modern”, *Paragraph* 29, 1 (2006) 12–26. Both concepts belong primarily to anglophone scholarship; for other historiographical traditions, see O’Malley, *Trent and All That* 143 and Cave, “Locating the Early Modern” 12 and n. 2. On the relationship between ‘early modern era’ and ‘Renaissance’, see Fantoni M., “Storia di un’idea”, in idem (ed.), *Il Rinascimento italiano e l’Europa: 1. Storia e storiografia* (Vicenza: 2005) 3–33.

6 Without being chronologically indeterminate, Early Modern Catholicism ‘leaves the chronological question open at both ends’, reaching from roughly the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century. See O’Malley, *Trent and All That* 141.

While the term has inspired fruitful and lively conversation among historians and scholars of many disciplines,⁷ musicology has yet to fully exploit its potential. True, various developments in and around the discipline seem to have prepared the ground. To begin with, recent decades have witnessed a crisis in the conventional style-based periodization, derived from art history, that elevated the year 1600 to the status of a watershed neatly separating the Renaissance and the Baroque.⁸ This crisis was precipitated, in part, by the growing consideration, within musicology as a whole, of cultural and social contexts, and of the dynamics of reception, by which the traditional over-emphasis on works and style—an approach that made music history largely coincide with the history of innovation in composition—was substantially rebalanced. At the same time, responding to stimuli from both outside and inside the discipline (most notably the rise and growth of ‘sound studies’),⁹ historical musicologists have increasingly contemplated a range of phenomena that extends beyond the borders that defined ‘art music’. In considering neglected repertoires and oral practices, and by including such factors as silence, noise, and non-musical sounds, musicologists have begun to investigate the role of a wide array of sonic phenomena in the life of past communities and to examine how these phenomena interacted with spaces, life rhythms, and mentalities. Thus, such recent studies as Robert Kendrick’s *The Sounds of Milan*, David R.M. Irving’s *Colonial Counterpoint*, and Andrew Dell’Antonio’s *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* can be said to have explored a variety of individual Catholic soundscapes of the early modern era.¹⁰ Whereas, however, a

⁷ The term has been criticized as a bland ‘identifier’ with no theoretical bedrock: ‘it imposes no artificial analytical divides because it attempts no analysis’ (Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* 248–249). O’Malley, however, while conceding the ‘blandness’ of the term, has emphasized its ‘scope and flexibility’ and its ready amenability to the results of ‘history from below’ (O’Malley, *Trent and All That* 141–143).

⁸ Haar J. (ed.), *European Music, 1520–1640* (Woodbridge – Rochester, NY: 2006) is probably the most organic attempt, to date, to explore an alternative periodization in studying the music from this period.

⁹ ‘Sound studies is a name for the interdisciplinary ferment in the human sciences that takes sound as its analytical point of departure or arrival’. Sterne J. “Sonic Imaginations”, in idem (ed.), *The Sound Studies Reader* (New York: 2012) 1–18, at 2.

¹⁰ Kendrick R.L., *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (New York: 2002); Irving D.R.M., *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford – New York: 2010); Dell’Antonio A., *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: 2011). See also Fisher A.J., *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: 2014), whose first chapter contains important historiographical and methodological elucidations.

combination of the aforementioned elements, including a broader sonic curiosity and a rejection of any rigid chronological compartmentalization, is now part of the standard scholarly equipment of many historical musicologists, no wide-ranging reflection on the sonic cultures of Early Modern Catholicism has thus far appeared.

It was the desire to fill this *lacuna* that impelled Daniele Filippi to embark on a project entitled 'The Soundscape of Early Modern Catholicism', which earned him a fellowship at the Jesuit Institute of Boston College in 2012–2014, under its then director T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. Filippi's project considered such topics as the role of singing in early modern catechism classes, the sonic strategies adopted by missionaries (especially Jesuits) in Europe and abroad, the sonic experience of attending Mass in the Tridentine period, and the scope and meaning of communal singing in Catholic life.¹¹ Conversations with T. Frank Kennedy and Michael Noone led to the launch of a spin-off project, aimed at integrating the perspective of Filippi's 'Soundscape' project (with its emphasis on sonic aspects and on 'unusual genres'¹²) with other emerging trends in the musicological understanding of this period. A conference entitled 'Listening to Early Modern Catholicism' and sponsored by the Jesuit Institute was held at Boston College in July 2014. The papers and discussions at that conference, which saw the participation of scholars from nine countries on both sides of the Atlantic, formed the basis for the conception of the present book. One of the livelier features of the conference was a round table, chaired by T. Frank Kennedy, concerning the role of the Jesuits and their networks in the creation

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- 11 The published outcomes of the project include: Filippi D.V., "A Sound Doctrine: Early Modern Jesuits and the Singing of the Catechism", *Early Music History* 34 (2015) 1–43; "Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere ...": The Low Mass and the *Motetti missales* in Sforza Milan', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 9, 1 (forthcoming); 'Songs in Early Modern Catholic Missions: Between Europe, the Indies, and the "Indies of Europe"', in Pietschmann K. (ed.), *Vokalpolyphonie zwischen Alter und Neuer Welt: Musikalische Austauschprozesse zwischen Europa und Latein-Amerika im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Troja—Jahrbuch für Renaissance-musik 14 (Kassel: forthcoming); "La cultura sonora del Cattolicesimo nella prima età moderna: Cinque ricercari", in Romagnoli A. et al. (eds.), '*Cara scientia mia, musica: Studi per Maria Caraci Vela, «Diverse voci ...»* 14 (Pisa: forthcoming).
- 12 To borrow an expression from T. Frank Kennedy, "Some Unusual Genres of Sacred Music in the Early Modern Period: The Catechism as a Musical Event in the Late Renaissance—Jesuits and 'Our Way of Proceeding'", in Comerford – Pabel, *Early Modern Catholicism* 266–279.

of Catholic soundscapes.¹³ While none of us could have imagined that Fr. Kennedy would not live to see the publication of this book, we are sure in the knowledge that dedicating the volume to his memory will represent a small yet important token of the personal and professional debt that we all owe this pioneer of research into the Society of Jesus and music. We dedicate the present volume to T. Frank in recognition of a life led in the service of the Order he loved, the scholarship he practiced, the mentorship he so tirelessly shared, and the legacy of service to others that he left us all.

As both a historiographical category and as heuristic tool, the term Early Modern Catholicism as adopted herein, demands an interdisciplinary approach. It seems, however, that the interdisciplinary results of recent musicological scholarship concerned with Early Modern Catholicism have rarely made any impression on other fields—and this, quite inexplicably, in spite of the ‘sonic turn’ that has affected historical disciplines in recent decades.¹⁴ Thus, the twofold aims of the present book are complementary: we demonstrate how the concept of, and the current literature on, Early Modern Catholicism might inform and influence the musicological discourse, and, conversely, we emphasize musicology’s potential contribution to the scholarly debate on Early Modern Catholicism. In this light, we asked our contributors to address a wide audience in their discussions of the sounds and musics of Early Modern Catholicism. To sharpen the interdisciplinary focus and to encourage thinking in unusually broad historiographical terms, we originally assigned to each contributor a subject or keyword referring to an aspect of culture, society, and/or religious life (for example, ‘catechism’, ‘popular piety’, ‘confraternities’, and ‘spirituality’)¹⁵ and that invited wider terms of reference than the strictly and narrowly ‘musical’. Each contributor was thus challenged to tackle

¹³ The round table provided the proof of concept for what would later become a special issue of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*: see Filippi D.V. (ed.), “Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: Music and Sound in the Ministries of Early Modern Jesuits”, special issue, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, 3 (2016), <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/22141332/3/3>.

¹⁴ See Walraven M., “History and Its Acoustic Context: Silence, Resonance, Echo and Where to Find Them in the Archive”, *Journal of Sonic Studies* 4, 1 (2013), <http://journal.sonicstudies.org/volo4/nr01/a07>; Missfelder J.-F., “Der Klang der Geschichte: Begriffe, Traditionen und Methoden der Sound History”, *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 66 (2015) 633–649.

¹⁵ *A posteriori*, we noticed that our background concept formed, in a certain sense, a pendant with that of a new and stimulating interdisciplinary manual on this period, whose chapters bear such titles as “Religious Coexistence”, “Lay Spirituality”, or “Catholic Piety

such underlying questions as the sonic/musical echoes of the keyword and to concentrate on those unique insights on each problem that could be distilled from the study of the musics and sounds related to it. Furthermore, we have asked contributors to help our readers navigate the multidisciplinary and musicological literature on the topic, by providing a generous array of references in the footnotes as well as in the ‘Select bibliography’ at the end of each chapter.

In line with the *longue durée* perspective invoked above, the book is concerned with the period 1450–1750, even though several chapters cluster around the central century 1550–1650. Geographically, besides the all but inevitable emphasis on Rome, the reader will travel from Siena to Barcelona, from Germany to France, from an English enclave in Spain to the many outposts of Jesuit missions, and from the Mediterranean to the Andes and beyond.

In the first section of our volume, historian John O’Malley and musicologist Robert Kendrick outline, from their respective disciplinary perspectives, the state of research on Early Modern Catholicism while reframing the agenda for future studies. This double survey incarnates the dual aims of the book, and paves the way for the monographic contributions of the second section.

O’Malley’s historiographical retrospective takes as its point of departure the nineteenth century, when Catholicism was often depicted in intellectual circles as ‘decadent, that is, as emotionally overwrought and morally corrupt’. Touching upon such critical moments as the opening of the Vatican archives to scholars by Pope Leo XII (1884), the publication of Pastor’s *History of the Popes* (started in 1886), the edition of the acts of the Tridentine Council (from 1901), and the condemnation of Modernism by Pius X (1907), O’Malley reconstructs the processes that led to the rediscovery of the Renaissance as ‘a fundamentally Christian age’ (to quote Paul Oskar Kristeller). O’Malley further discusses, with exemplary clarity, the complex methodological and terminological disputes regarding this period in the second half of the twentieth century, considering the respective advantages of ‘Counter Reformation’, ‘Catholic Reform’, and ‘confessionalization’, and reframing his own proposal of ‘Early Modern Catholicism’. He illustrates the fundamental shift from ‘church history’ to broader historiographical discussions of Christianity—encompassing economic, social, cultural, and spiritual aspects—that took place along the past century. If already in the 1970s scholarship on Catholicism in the Renaissance ‘was no longer a non-field’, O’Malley shows how early modern Catholic studies have grown in

and Community”: see Bamji – Janssen – Laven, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*.

the last decades, boosted by wider historiographical developments that have raised new interest, for instance, in the study of popular religion, as well as in such entities as confraternities, religious orders, pilgrimage sites, and missions. In conclusion, O'Malley urges musicologists to make 'a very deliberate effort to break out of their disciplinary confines' to make their voice heard in the interdisciplinary arena of early modern Catholic studies.

In a sophisticated reflection on 'music among the disciplines', focused on the 'short' sixteenth century (1527–c.1590), Robert Kendrick delineates some of the issues that could possibly function as 'bases of dialogue' between musicologists and colleagues in other fields, with the aim of better understanding how Early Modern Catholicism was heard and understood by the different 'communities of belief'. One of these issues is the uncovering of parallel developments in music and the arts (with all the inevitable, and subtle, methodological questions), to be framed, more generally, in the problem of the sensuous in early modern culture. Another topic with interdisciplinary potential is, according to Kendrick, that of the popular making of sacred or spiritual music, or, in other words, the study of music for and by the 'simple people'.¹⁶ Such themes are well represented in the present volume, most notably in the chapters on the French *petites écoles*, catechetical songs, the Oratorian *lauda*, and the Roman confraternities. Clearly, top-down and bottom-up perspectives are complementary, and we as scholars are encouraged to draw further connections between 'low' and 'high' culture in the early modern era, by comparing those cultural artifacts that belong to different levels and are found in different social layers. Kendrick focuses on the cult of Carlo Borromeo, sonically promoted in Milan through both 'popular' *laude* and stately polychoral Masses; but the same could be said, for instance, of the corpus of devotional songs fostered by the Jesuits, a repertory that ranged from bare formulaic *laude* to stylish spiritual madrigals. Another area that Kendrick identifies as promising is the study of oral traditions and the role of improvisation. What has been done in this field in the past twenty years has already revolutionized our understanding of how 'sacred music' sounded in the late Middle Ages and the early modern era. Suffice it to quote the work on *cantus fractus* and *cantus planus binatum* by such scholars as Giulio Cattin, Francesco Luisi, and Marco Gozzi,¹⁷ and the evidence regarding

¹⁶ To paraphrase the title of a book that, in spite of some flaws, has had the merit of attracting scholarly attention and inspiring further research: see Nanni S. (ed.), *La musica dei semplici: L'altra Controriforma* (Rome: 2012).

¹⁷ See in particular Cattin G. – Gallo F.A. (eds.), *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, Quaderni di Musica e storia 3 (Venice – Bologna: 2002); Gozzi M. – Luisi F. (eds.), *Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano* (Rome: 2005); Gozzi M. (ed.), *Cantus fractus*

a vast array of improvisatory practices patiently gathered by various musicologists and admirably summarized in a recent book by Philippe Canguilhem.¹⁸ Besides the chapter by Gozzi himself, the reader will find food for thought in the chapter by Ignazio Macchiarella, in which the delicate problem of the continuity of oral practices from the early modern era to the present, and the related opportunities for researchers, are discussed.¹⁹

The second part of the book opens with a chapter by Gozzi on ‘Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy’. Gozzi provides a refreshing reading of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century liturgical practice, by mapping what until recently was one of the ‘submerged continents’ of the early modern Catholic soundscape: *cantus fractus*. This practice and repertory has been overlooked for a long time by scholars, in spite of the notational hints present in early modern chant books and especially in those books containing settings that alternate chant and polyphony (*alternatim*). Reflecting on the role of music in the contemporary experience of liturgy, Gozzi urges us to consider the materiality of liturgical singing. He reminds us of the shortcomings and disturbances that interfered with the singing (as we learn, for instance, from synodal decrees) and underscores the distance, in terms of performance practice, between what we can infer from the sources and the ‘ethereal’ ways of performing plainchant that became widespread in the twentieth century. The chapter also affirms the importance of rooting reflections on performance practice in detailed reconstructions of the ritual contexts, taking into account the peculiarities and exceptions to the norms that characterize even the purportedly standardized post-Tridentine liturgy. It is a task that requires research not only on liturgical books, but on a wide variety of historical sources: from iconographic evidence, books of customs, and records guiding those charged with the daily conduct of the liturgy to chronicles and letters.

If liturgy was the core experience of early modern Catholic life, it was obviously not the only sphere where music played a significant role—not even in religious houses, as Colleen Reardon shows in her chapter. Re-examining the sound world of early modern female convents in a *longue durée* perspective

¹⁸ italiano: un’antologia, Musica mensurabilis 4 (Hildesheim – New York: 2012). An extensive bibliography on this topic is to be found in Gozzi’s chapter in the present volume.

¹⁹ Canguilhem P., *L’improvisation polyphonique à la Renaissance* (Paris: 2015).

¹⁹ On these problems, and on the merits of a historical ethnomusicological approach, see also Macchiarella I. – Milleddu R., “Bella festa si fa ncelu’: Jesuits and Musical Traditions in the Heart of the Mediterranean”, in Filippi, “Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth” 415–436, <http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/10.1163/22141332-00303009>.

centered on seventeenth-century Siena, Reardon interrogates the polyvalent nature of the nuns' musical activities. 'Practicing, rehearsing, and teaching music' were part of the community life; music in the convents comprised secular, instrumental, and theatrical music and spanned different genres, associated with different moments and with different audiences. The shared practice of plainchant clearly served an identity- and community-building function, whereas polyphonic music performed a more 'outward' function. In addition to representing the monastic community to lay visitors and thereby providing a means for negotiating relationships with influential aristocratic families, it marked such convent-specific feast days and rites of passage as professions, and contributed, on special occasions, to the task of shaping the urban soundscape. Furthermore, music was cultivated in the convents for its powerful symbolic associations, with both aspects of the city's history and with universal archetypes. As an early modern author put it,

Il Convento delle Monache è un Ciel stellato, dove le fiammeggianti stelle fanno soave armonia intorno al Sole. La Clausura delle Vergini sacre è un Paradiso, dove gl'ardenti Serafini fanno grato concerto all'orecchie dell'Eterno Dio.²⁰

The convent of the nuns is a starry sky, where the flashing stars make sweet harmony around the Sun. The enclosure of the sacred virgins is a Paradise, where the fervent seraphs make a pleasant concert for the ears of the eternal God.

Corroborating her arguments with rich bibliographic information, Reardon shows how the evidence regarding the musical activities of early modern nuns reveals much concerning such broader questions as the religious, cultural, and social life of the convents, and of the surrounding cities. Issues of gender, urban culture, and civil religion enter into play, and, once again, an interdisciplinary approach is indispensable.

After Reardon's survey of a field that has attracted considerable attention from musicologists—especially in the 1990s and 2000s—, we move on, in the chapter by Xavier Bisaro, to a sonic phenomenon of Early Modern Catholicism that has remained 'inaudible' until recently: the practice of singing in French parochial schools. Ignored so far by historians of education (another casualty of the pervasive 'deafness' that almost invariably characterized scholars out-

²⁰ Uberti Grazioso, *Contrasto musico* (Rome: 1630) 104, quoted in Stefani G., *Musica barocca 2: Angeli e Sirene* (Milan: 1988) 112.

side musicology until the recent ‘sonic turn’ mentioned above) and by musicologists (presumably for its relatively modest value, in terms of aesthetic quality), this practice sits at the intersection of many crucial problems of the early modern era. First, the study of the musical activities in the *petites écoles* lifts the veil on the larger, and largely understudied, question of the presence and role of music in early modern schools. Furthermore, this essay offers an insight into precisely the sort of bottom-up cultural instances that Kendrick brought to our attention, and demonstrates how such apparently separated domains as liturgy, schooling, and the construction of civic identity interacted. Children were regularly taught how to sing plainchant: sung prayers and singing activities punctuated the school day and contributed to the ‘shaping of a general Christian disposition’. At the same time, considering that in many French parishes laymen sang from the pulpit during Mass and Vespers (as if substituting for a monastic or capitular choir),²¹ the fact that the children received a basic training in chant and liturgy ensured the necessary continuity of this vital tradition. Moreover, as extant wills make clear, singing school children were involved in the flourishing economy of intercession. Their participation in endowed services, especially those commemorating school benefactors, was considered as particularly important, undoubtedly because of the transparent symbolic association with the choirs of angels in Heaven. The singing voices of children thus contributed to the ‘complex web of sensorial and memorial ties on which community consciousness depended’.

With Jane Bernstein’s essay we leave momentarily the rural periphery of Early Modern Catholicism to move to its undisputed capital, Rome, and we focus on the musical side of post-Tridentine print culture. With her recognized ability for matching technical details and broader considerations of the printed media, Bernstein investigates the ways in which Roman printers reacted to, and helped channel, the many diverse expressions of musical culture in the decades immediately following the Council (from the Oratorian *laude* to Giovanni Luca Conforti’s highly embellished *Salmi passaggiati*, and to Cavalieri’s *Rappresentazione di Anima & di Corpo*). Bernstein’s close examination of printed scores, in which the visual and the aural interact in myriad and subtle ways, sheds new light on the role played by printed media in Early Modern Catholicism. At the same time, she vindicates the flexibility and inventiveness of Roman ‘boutique’ printers compared to the larger Venetian firms, thus contributing from an unusual angle to the ongoing reappraisal of Roman creativity in the post-Tridentine era.

²¹ See Bisaro X., *Chanter toujours: plain-chant et religion villageoise dans la France moderne (XVI^e–XIX^e siècle)* (Rennes: 2010).

One of the main concerns for the Catholic Church in this period was undoubtedly the teaching of a (more or less) basic set of truths to as many people as possible. For this purpose, churchmen, catechists, and missionaries employed, as is well known, a wide variety of means and media. In his chapter, Daniele Filippi explores the role of songs in the teaching of the catechism, showing how widespread the method was, and how it became a veritable sonic marker of Early Modern Catholicism, from Sicily to Brazil and from Bavaria to the eastern Indies. The doctrine was condensed into uncomplicated formulae, set to easy tunes, and taught by means of repetition; the learners (chiefly 'youngsters, children, ignorant and unrefined people, countrymen, and women', according to influential Jesuit educator Diego de Ledesma [1524–1575]) memorized the doctrine and spread it abroad with little effort. Songs helped involving the learners, and added 'an entertaining dimension to the learning experience'. As in the case of the French parochial schools, the musical practices connected with catechesis, although simple and aesthetically unassuming, intersect with some of the most stimulating issues of contemporary Catholicism. Through the study of these practices we realize, among other things, the importance of networks (with special emphasis on networks associated with the Society of Jesus) and the public dimension of 'doctrinal exercises'. We are also encouraged to further reflect on the role of songs in interconfessional encounters—a subject that has been dealt with in scholarship mainly from the Protestant perspective.²² Furthermore, such an ubiquitous repertory challenges us to embrace wide horizons in our research: both in geographical terms, by contemplating the interplay between missionary experiences in Europe and those in extra-European lands, and in chronological terms, by adopting—once again—a *longue durée* sweep.

Many religious orders and groups resorted to song for conveying their message to the faithful, yet probably no other order, among those of recent foundation, was more inclined to use music in its ministry than Filippo Neri's Oratorians. In a thought-provoking reassessment of the Oratorian *lauda*, Anne Piéjus underlines continuity with late-medieval practices and reconstructs the spiritual background of a musical initiative marked by a paradoxically 'innovative conservatism'. Piéjus's view of the *lauda* as a survival and revival of past practices strongly contradicts the still widespread 'teleological' interpretation that construes the *lauda* as an antecedent of the oratorio. Besides exposing the Florentine, Dominican, and Savonarolan roots of the Roman *lauda*, Piéjus detects the influence of the Franciscan tradition, and even elements deriving

²² See for instance Oettinger R.W., *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot – Burlington, VT: 2001).

from the Catholic reformers' emphasis on simplicity and fascination for early Christianity. Attesting to the variety and the multi-layered character of contemporary Catholic soundscapes, Piéjus notices the sharp contrast between the *lauda* and other more refined components of Roman sound culture. As a matter of fact, the *lauda* occupied a space between different practices and differing conceptions of music: those that encouraged the active participation of the people (or, in the aristocratic version, of well-educated *dilettanti*) vis à vis those that promoted the passive and individual reception of music as performed by specialized *virtuosi*. That the second approach eventually prevailed among Roman—though not only Roman—elites,²³ should not prevent us from acknowledging that these tendencies coexisted.

With the chapters by Andrew Cichy and Alexander Fisher, we leave again the city of the popes, to examine the role and meaning of music for those Catholic communities that lived in, or came from, confessionally contested areas of Europe. Cichy's case study illustrates the role of musical activities in shaping and representing the corporate identity of a seminary based in Catholic Spain yet whose students hailed from a country both hostile and heretical. The Real Colegio de los Ingleses, or St. Alban's College, established at Valladolid in 1589 and managed by the Jesuits, developed a rich musical culture, partially as a response to the college's delicate situation. While music was employed both to impress Spanish authorities and to engage with the local community, it was also used to prove this institution of English exiles' loyalty to the Catholic Church. Whereas musicologist readers will find here noteworthy and detailed information about the musical life in a Jesuit educational institution, non-musicologists will surely read with interest Cichy's reflections on how music worked as a tool for integration and on how the sonic profile of the public devotions promoted by the college was 'embedded with a broader range of social and political meanings'.

Alexander Fisher's chapter on the 'soundscapes of post-Reformation Germany' stimulatingly combines two topical problems of Early Modern Catholicism: processional culture and confessional confrontation. Pilgrimages and processions, Fisher notices, traced 'the networks and nodes of sacral geography', but what was the role of music? Certain genres projected key symbols and aspects of Catholic dogma and Catholic identity: notably the litanies, associated with the intercession of saints and the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Eucharistic songs that punctuated Corpus Christi parades. The various sonic ingredients (from collective chanting to polyphony, from bells to the military sounds of trumpets, drums, and muskets) expanded

23 See Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy*.

the procession's 'acoustic horizon' far beyond its visual reach, helping Catholic communities define, transform, and appropriate the spaces of that sacral geography. Processional sound thus worked as a vehicle for devotion and identification, and, since processions were sometimes deliberately designed as sonic forays into contested areas, contributed to challenge the balance of public religious peace in mixed-faith districts.

Processions are not spectacles, admonished influential Jesuit preacher Georg Scherer (c.1540–1605), but rather *sermons* enlivened by a rich multimedia rhetoric. Adopting the same logic, a logic that informed so many cultural products of Early Modern Catholicism, Margaret Murata studies the seventeenth-century spiritual cantatas for what they really are: the sonic equivalent of spiritual exercises. Murata's focus falls on Roman composers (especially Michi, Marazzoli, and Mazzocchi) and on penitential cantatas featuring such characters as Mary Magdalene and the daughter of Jephtha; yet the methodological implications are much broader and have clear interdisciplinary repercussions. The mostly anonymous poetry of such vast repertoires has been almost completely ignored by modern literary scholars: musical settings, however, 'can read these spiritual essays for us', as Murata explains. Music analysis, cleverly combined with a sensitive reading of the spiritual literature of the time, thus becomes a way of understanding not only the dynamics of early modern listening, but also the shared tropes and the working of contemporary devotional experience.

Tess Knighton's chapter on music, death, and piety in sixteenth-century Barcelona leads us back to the daily life and more modest musical patronage of individuals belonging to lower social strata. Forming an ideal pendant with Bisaro's chapter on rural communities, Knighton's essay discusses the local sonic embodiment of collective piety in an urban environment. Drawing her materials from a systematic examination of wills from the Notarial Archive of Barcelona, Knighton explores 'the nexus between death, piety, and the firm belief in the role of music as a conduit for the passage of the soul through Purgatory'. By studying the specifics of funeral ceremonies, anniversaries, and foundations, we learn how community issues and shared beliefs found expression in, and influenced, musical practices. What is reflected in the wills that stipulate the musical details of liturgical ceremonies is in fact the testators' (often women) ordinary experience of church music in its different forms. The soundscape of the rites surrounding death comprised bells, the collective recitation of prayers, and the singing of Masses and Offices in plainchant, with the frequent intervention of the organ and the occasional addition of vocal and instrumental polyphony. The sonically active agents included the diocesan and regular clergy, the city's confraternities, children from local or-

phanages, and the poor. Their voices accompanied the last earthly itinerary of the dead and foreshadowed their ultramundane trajectory towards ‘harmonies of a celestial kind’.

In the case of death rituals, as in many other situations of early modern life, collective bodies such as the confraternities played a crucial role. The two chapters by Noel O'Regan and Ignazio Macchiarella examine this topical issue of Early Modern Catholicism from two different perspectives. O'Regan offers a thoroughly documented account of the role of Roman confraternities as commissioners and consumers of music in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, whereas Macchiarella, in his capacity as a historical ethnomusicologist, draws connections between the early modern roots of confraternal singing and the practices that still survive today in certain southern European regions.

'Music'—states O'Regan—'played an important part in helping individual confraternities claim their place in the ritual life of the city'. Music attracted the crowds, united the members, instilled devotion, aided 'the memorizing of standard prayers and liturgical items', gratified sponsors and benefactors, and augmented the prestige of the confraternity. As in other chapters in the book, we are reminded once more of the importance of processional culture: the frequent processions of the confraternities marked the ritual life of the city, delineated its 'geography of devotion', and manifested the confraternities' functions in Rome's social landscape. As the principal public expression of the confraternity (opposed to the more intimate chanting of Offices in the oratory), the procession required appropriate strategies in order to emerge in the competitive sonic environment of Roman streets: these strategies included hiring singers and instrumentalists from other chapels and/or freelance musicians, and sending around heralds to announce indulgences.

Confraternities, with their peculiar association of sonic and social relevance, do not belong exclusively to the past, at least in such regions of southern and insular Europe as Corsica and Sardinia. Macchiarella, focusing here on the latter island, shows how confraternities established in the early modern era (often by Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries) continued to operate into the present, preserving 'a central role both in the transmission of multipart singing and in the organization of the Holy Week rituals'. The study of today's confraternities and their orally transmitted practices can help historical musicologists reconstruct aspects of early modern devotional singing—and of vocal performance practice *tout court*—that neither music notation nor other written documents from the past are able to transmit. Matters of vocal timbre, the dynamics of interaction between the voices, the subtle performance of verbal rhythm, the peculiar habits and tricks of individual singers, the local variations and traditions—all these aspects observed *in vivo* (and of course critically evaluated,

without postulating a simplistic and untenable continuity) offer clues for the re-interpretation of early modern evidence, and resonate with current efforts in the reconstruction of past improvisatory practices.²⁴ More generally, and perhaps even more importantly, Macchiarella's chapter stimulates us to fully realize *how long the longue durée* is, when it comes to the repercussions of early modern Catholic missions.

From European to extra-European missions, the final chapter of the book is dedicated to a survey of the various paradigms that regulated the establishment of musical practice in the service of evangelization in the Americas. Egberto Bermúdez's case study insists on the ministry of Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans in the period 1525–1575, thus complementing the more abundant literature that already exists on the Jesuits and on later periods. Drawing from documents of different kinds, Bermúdez is able to weave an impressively detailed historical narrative, one that underscores the interaction between missionary policies and political trends, and between theological orientations and field strategies. Bermúdez delineates the successive phases in the missionary enterprise and the corresponding phases in the use of European or miscegenated musical practices. Acculturation, adaptation, compromise, diffidence, crisis, and repression alternated, but songs (whether Christian, pagan, or syncretic) were instrumental in all these different moments, marking both indigenous conversion and rebellion. Bermúdez's essay will strike the reader for a 'thickness' that sharply contrasts with the atemporal approach to missionary music often adopted by scholars from outside Latin America. Striking, too, is its sophisticated consideration of the missionaries' cultural background: that 'combination of millennialism, humanism, apocalyptic and eschatological theories, and divergent theological orientations with "popular" and messianic religious movements' that rules out any simplistic interpretation of the missionary enterprise in the Americas.

How did it sound to be Catholic in the early modern period? What kinds of sonic cultures developed within the diverse and dynamic matrix of Early Modern Catholicism? And what do we learn, in this connection, about Early Modern Catholicism itself? These are some of the questions that this book aims to explore. Its chapters share an emphasis on the experience of sound and music and on the different modalities of that experience in Catholic life: individual or shared, 'raw' or overladen with symbolic connotations, considered *per se* or as part of a more complex experiential context. Besides those

²⁴ See again Canguilhem, *L'improvisation polyphonique à la Renaissance*.

explicitly thematized in the various chapters, other topics occur in the book as leitmotifs that help us answer these questions.

Sound, to begin with, emerges as a decisive factor in the shaping of individual and collective identities, and in the building of Catholic communities. It had the power of uniting as well as that of differentiating. It marked time and space, helping Catholics to construct and experience their ‘sacral geography’, and to navigate the daily, weekly, and annual cycles specified in the liturgical calendar. Sound, moreover, dramatically entered into play at many crucial moments in the faithful’s life cycle. Sound and music were fundamental in almost every public aspect of Catholic life, well beyond the confines of the liturgy. Through sound and music, groups and communities represented themselves in the public arena; they articulated, organized, and disciplined their presence during events, gatherings, and festivals of religious, civic, or mixed character.

Different agents were involved in the shaping of Catholic soundscapes: not only the members of the clergy (notably those actively occupied in missionary activities, who often belonged to religious orders), but also such intermediate bodies as the Marian congregations and the various confraternities; not only the ecclesiastical, political, and aristocratic elites, but also the ‘simple faithful’ (including men, women, and children). Specific genres undoubtedly propagated confessionally characterized elements,²⁵ but even more decisive, judging from the evidence gathered here, were the musical practices Catholics shared: from those connected with the attendance at liturgical and paraliturgical services to the sung catechism, and from the chanting of the rosary to processional songs. Whereas the pealing of bells (occasionally substituted by wooden clappers), the sound of the organ (*‘il Re de gl’strumenti’*, the king of instruments, according to Girolamo Diruta),²⁶ and the instrumental sounds of *ministries*, *piffari*, and similar ensembles were very much part of the Catholic soundscape, the human voice undoubtedly occupied pride of place. This is hardly surprising, considering the centrality of the voice in the Biblical and Christian tradition of worship: yet what is especially worth underscoring here is the extent to which communal singing, both in Latin and the vernacular, formed part of the religious and sonic experience of early modern Catholics.

25 As a forthcoming study by Christian Leitmeir shows, however, we should be aware of a certain permeability of confessional borders, when considering such genres as the motet: see Leitmeir C.T., “Beyond the Denominational Paradigm: The Motet as Confessional(ising) Practice in the Later Sixteenth Century”, in Rodríguez-García E. – Filippi D.V. (eds.), *Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era* (Abingdon: forthcoming).

26 Diruta Girolamo, *Il Transilvano* (Venice: 1593) 2, quoted in Stefani, *Musica barocca* 2 124.

The growing evidence casting light on this phenomenon, and abundantly exemplified across the chapters of this book, surely contradicts the received opinion that claims active and collective singing as the exclusive prerogative of the Protestant world.

As far as symbolic associations are concerned, the governing metaphor and ubiquitous trope of Catholic soundscape was indisputably heavenly music: we see it variously invoked in our chapters as a model for religious choirs, as the seal of beatitude foreshadowed by earthly harmonies, or as the archetype for any uplifting musical performance. Music was thus not only the foretaste of eternal joy and a special conduit to the communion of saints, but also the token of the earthly city's conformity to the model of the heavenly Jerusalem. To be sure, however, sonic conflicts existed in the Catholic world that reflected the distance between the ultramundane model and earthly reality. From synodal decrees we learn, for instance, how the heavenly-oriented soundscape of liturgy was constantly threatened by noise, disturbances, and the intrusions of secular music. Songs accompanied and even exacerbated the clashes between different denominations, and exposed the mixed results of missionary enterprises. A latent conflict, moreover, opposed—within the Catholic world—those who considered music as a necessary ingredient of liturgy and a valuable tool for ministry, and those who embraced, to a variable degree, a rigorist and ‘anti-musical’ stance.

Clearly all these aspects remain open to further research: in a certain sense, we have just begun to ‘listen to Early Modern Catholicism’. The preliminary results of this book will surely be enriched if complemented, for instance, by new studies on the musical practices of religious orders; on such repertoires as the songs of pilgrimage and those used during popular missions; on dance;²⁷ on the basic aspects of sonic experience as understood by early modern Catholics—including silence, noise, and the human voice;²⁸ on geographical and cultural areas that are still unfamiliar, at least to western European and North American scholars, such as the vast Catholic regions of Slavic-speaking

²⁷ By building upon such stimulating studies as Alessandro Arcangeli, “The Ballroom and the Stage: The Dance Repertoire of the Society of Jesus”, in Hinz M. – Righi R. – Zardin D. (eds.), *I Gesuiti e la Ratio studiorum* (Rome: 2004) 67–73; Ruel M., *Les chrétiens et la danse dans la France moderne: XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: 2006).

²⁸ The ground has been prepared by such studies as Burke P., “Notes for a Social History of Silence in Early Modern Europe”, in his *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca, NY: 1993) 123–142; Mancini R., *I guardiani della voce: lo statuto della parola e del silenzio nell’Occidente medievale e moderno*, Laboratorio di storia: Quaderni 1 (Rome: 2002); Bisello L., *Sotto il ‘manto’ del silenzio: Storia e forme del tacere (secoli XVI–XVII)* (Florence: 2003); and Schwartz H., *Making Noise: From Babel to the Big Bang & beyond* (Brooklyn, NY – Cambridge, MA: 2011).

Europe; and on the multifarious exchanges precipitated by global missions. Finally, it is to be hoped that the awareness of the thick and multi-layered soundscape described in this book (and of the variegated assortment of documents that enable us to approach a reconstruction of that soundscape) will increasingly influence the way we work with the 'high' repertoires of vocal and instrumental music of the period. In this way, the sacred and devotional musics traditionally perceived as emblematic of Early Modern Catholicism, the works of, say, Palestrina, Monteverdi, or Charpentier, will resume their places as parts of a more complex and stratified musical civilization than might previously have been imagined, and as elements of a dense continuum of sonic and religious experience.

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PART 1

The State of Research

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Early Modern Catholicism: The State of Research

John W. O'Malley

We open this volume with a consideration of the current state of research on Catholicism in the early modern period. As is evident in this volume, such research is in a healthy state. That is an assessment that would have been impossible even twenty-five years ago, although the patient was by then showing clear signs of improvement. Only recently, however, has it been possible to jettison all caution and make a confident and optimistic assessment.¹ To understand what has happened we must begin with the nineteenth century. In that century the religious history of the early modern period that was worthy of respect was firmly in the hands of Protestants and, in Catholic countries, in the hands of anti-clericals. The basic thesis of these historians was that, until the hold of the Catholic Church was broken by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and, finally, the Enlightenment, Europe was condemned to continue in the superstition and obscurantism of medieval Catholicism. In the Italian Renaissance, such historians saw a ray of light burst forth through the rediscovery of the virtues of ancient paganism, which made apparent the spiritual inadequacy of even celebrated Catholic religious figures such as Bernardino da Siena, Roberto da Lecce, and other penitential preachers. As Jacob Burckhardt commented, they lacked the depth of their counterparts in northern Europe.²

But the definitive breakthrough came with Luther, whose successful here-I-stand against the Church ushered in the modern era of progress and rationality. The Catholic Church of course responded to this challenge with all the forces at its disposal—military, diplomatic, and political—and thus launched the

¹ For the most recent surveys, see the following articles in “The Catholic Historical Review: A Centennial Retrospective”, *The Catholic Historical Review* 101, 2 (2015): O’Malley J.W., “Catholic Church History: One Hundred Years of the Discipline”, 1–26; Bireley R., “The Early Modern Period in the First One Hundred Years”, 94–122; Po-chia Hsia R., “*The Catholic Historical Review*: One Hundred Years of Scholarship on Catholic Missions in the Early Modern World”, 223–241; Dries A., “National and Universal: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Catholic Missions and World Christianity in *The Catholic Historical Review*”, 242–273. See also O’Malley J.W., *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: 2000).

² Burckhardt J., *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore, 2 vols. (New York: 1958) II, 540.

rear-guard action known as the Counter Reformation. That action was successful in somewhat slowing down the Reformation and the march to modernity, but it did so at the price of reinforcing in Catholicism itself the very features against which the Protestant Reformers railed. With remarkable consistency, nineteenth-century novelists in almost every European country had great success in fixing in the popular imagination the image of Catholicism as decadent, that is, as emotionally overwrought and morally corrupt.³ Among the most notorious publications in North America was a supposedly autobiographical account by a woman named Maria Monk, first published in New York in 1836 as *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery*.⁴ It created a sensation and seems to have sold more copies than any book published in the United States until *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1851, which itself contained anti-Catholic insinuations. The *Disclosures* contained not insinuations but vivid descriptions of the moral degradation Maria discovered in a convent she entered near Montreal, the Hotel Dieu. She learned to her horror that infants were sometimes born in the convent as a result of the nuns' illicit liaisons, usually with priests. The babies were always baptized and then immediately strangled. The mother superior exclaimed to Maria, 'How happy are those who thus secure eternal happiness for such little beings!'

Of course, not all historians nor all novelists bought this black-white scenario, but even for them Catholicism emerged as the perhaps well-meaning but dull and retarded stepsister to Protestantism. Catholicism was simply not interesting. The definition of Papal Infallibility in Vatican Council I, 1869–1870, reinforced this image of Catholic backwardness. It dealt a heavy blow to the Catholic historical profession especially in Germany. When Johann Ignaz von Döllinger, the leading Catholic church historian in Germany, refused to accept the definition, he was excommunicated by the archbishop of Munich, an act that precipitated the formation of a Catholic Church in schism from Rome. Two thirds of Catholics teaching history in German universities followed Döllinger and joined the new church, a phenomenon that Owen Chadwick has described as 'a disaster for the Roman Catholic study of history'.⁵ Some forty years later, in 1907, came the condemnation of Modernism by Pope Pius X in his encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis*. It is difficult to find a common thread

³ See Fantoni M. – Continisio C. (eds.), *Catholicism as Decadence* (Florence: 2008).

⁴ *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, as Exhibited in a Narrative of Her Sufferings During a Residence of Five Years as a Novice and Two Years as a Black Nun, in the Hotel Dieu Nunnery at Montreal* (1836; reprinted ed., Hamden, CT: 1962). See Billington R.A., 'Maria Monk and Her Influence', *The Catholic Historical Review* 22 (1936) 238–296.

⁵ Chadwick O., *A History of the Popes, 1830–1914* (Oxford: 1998) 252.

linking all the so-called Modernists beyond their desire to help the Church reconcile itself with what they considered best in the modern world. However, a general, though not universal, premise of the Modernists was the pervasiveness of change in the life and teaching of the Church and the need to take change into account. That is, the need to take history seriously into account. For the sweep of its accusations, the accusatory style of its language, and especially the severity of its provisions, *Pascendi* had few, if any, precedents in documents emanating from the modern papacy. A veritable purge followed, in which historians were often the victims.

But there is another side to the story. In 1884 Pope Leo XIII opened the Vatican archives to scholars, a boon to all scholarship in the humanities but especially to study of the history of the Catholic Church. We can see it as a first suggestion of a moderation of the general tenor of mainstream historical opinion about the history of the Church, especially in the early modern period. Leo's action sparked the creation of two major historical monuments pertinent to our subject.

The first was Ludwig von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*.⁶ Pastor moved into the archives with his research assistants and published his first volume in 1886, a project that resulted in sixteen volumes and took him from the Avignonese papacy into the early nineteenth century. Because of Pastor's use of new sources, especially the Vatican archives, and the thoroughness of the research, the work attracted the attention and won the admiration of scholars of many nations and ideologies. Despite its great length, the *Geschichte* was translated in its entirety into Italian, French, Spanish, and English. Though today outdated, it is still consulted with profit, and for many subjects it remains indispensable. Pastor was honest about the many failings and political machinations of the popes, but by putting them in their historical context he dispelled some of the worst myths about them. The second major monument was the critical edition of the *Acta* of the Council of Trent, based primarily on the documents in the Vatican archives. The project was undertaken by the Görres Gesellschaft, the distinguished learned society founded by German scholars who had remained Catholic after Vatican Council I. The first volume of the *Concilium Tridentinum* rolled off the press in 1901. The series was basically completed by mid-century, but the final volume did not appear until 2001, precisely a century after the first. With the *Concilium Tridentinum*, the basis was finally laid for understanding this major event in the history of Early Modern Catholicism.

6 On Pastor, see, e.g., Strnad A.A., "Pastor, Ludwig von", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 20 (Berlin: 2001) 94–96.

A few years before the publication of the first volume of the *Concilium Tridentinum* a group of Spanish Jesuits led by José María Vélez set about publishing a critical edition of the full correspondence of Ignatius of Loyola and a few related documents. The first volume appeared in Madrid in 1894. This was the modest beginning of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, a series that now numbers over 155 volumes dealing with the early decades of the Society of Jesus in both Europe and in mission fields. The series is crucially important not only because of the importance of the Jesuits for the history of modern Catholicism, but also because, as it developed, it called scholars' attention to Catholicism outside the confines of Europe.⁷ If the *Concilium Tridentinum* and the *Monumenta* were expressions of the enthusiasm for critical editions of primary documents that seized scholars in the late nineteenth century, the publication of the first number of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* from the Catholic University of Leuven/Louvain in 1901 was symptomatic of the enthusiasm for scholarly journals in specific fields that also seized the era. The *Revue* had been preceded by the excellent *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1877, of Lutheran inspiration. Nonetheless, the *Revue* soon began to conquer the field as the most comprehensive such journal. One of its first offsprings was *The Catholic Historical Review*, founded in 1915 by American Catholic priests who had studied in Europe.

Meanwhile scholars who were not Catholics began gnawing away at some of the great myths. In 1925, for instance, a few American medievalists largely from the Boston area founded the Medieval Academy of America. The next year the Academy held its first annual meeting and published the first number of its prestigious journal, *Speculum*. These ventures concerning an epoch Catholics had begun to consider peculiarly their own came from non-Catholics and found their first home at Harvard University. Among the first fellows elected to the academy was Bishop Thomas Shahan, Rector-President of The Catholic University of America and the first editor of *The Catholic Historical Review*. It was from Harvard, moreover, that in 1924 came Charles Homer Haskins' *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, which became an almost overnight classic and did much to dispel among historians and other scholars the myth of the Middle Ages as dark and academically retarded. In France at about the same time, Étienne Gilson published his first book on Thomas Aquinas, inaugurating a long and brilliant career of studies on aspects of medieval philosophy and theology that showed Catholicism's diversity and historical developments. In 1929 in Toronto he helped found an academic center that ten years later

⁷ See Fernández Zapico D. – Leturia P., "Cincuentenario de *Monumenta Historica S. I.*," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 13 (1944) 1–44.

became the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, where historical methods were applied to every facet of medieval life.

What about the Italian Renaissance? It had long attracted the interest of scholars, but only with the dispersal to England and the United States of leading Jewish intellectuals fleeing Nazi persecution did the field take off and begin to spark new interest in its religious aspects. Among those scholars was the art historian Edgar Wind, who in 1947 lamented that 'ignorance of Renaissance theology' was a major stumbling block to understanding Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling. Wind himself went on to publish a number of influential articles in which he made use of Italian religious writers of the period.⁸ Without doubt the most important of those Jewish refugees was Paul Oskar Kristeller, whose vast erudition, serene judgment, and personal kindness made him the most respected and important Renaissance scholar of the twentieth century. Out of his seminars at Columbia University grew the Renaissance Society of America, and at Columbia he trained two generations of students to follow in his footsteps.

In 1954 Kristeller delivered the Martin Classical Lectures at Oberlin College in Ohio. The lectures were later published in a little book of immense influence originally entitled *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, but better known in its revised and enlarged edition as *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains*. The fourth chapter of his book was entitled "Paganism and Christianity". In it Kristeller pointed out the keen interest many Italian humanists had in the Bible, the Fathers of the Church, and theological issues. He made clear that the renewed interest in the classics of ancient Rome did not mean that the men and women of the Renaissance saw these works as in any wise displacing the Bible and the Fathers of the Church, even as they saw certain lines of congruity between the two. In quiet defiance of earlier scholars who saw the Renaissance as at least an implicit revival of ancient paganism, Kristeller said: [...] it seems [...] appropriate to call the Renaissance a fundamentally Christian age'.⁹

Then, in the late 1960s and early 1970s a series of significant breakthroughs occurred in the field of Renaissance theology. Within a span of five or six years, scholarship took an important turn on an international basis. In Italy, for instance, between 1969 and 1972 three important books appeared independently of one another on Lorenzo Valla, whom until then many scholars considered the quintessential 'pagan humanist' of the Renaissance. All three new books

⁸ Sears E. (ed.), *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling* (Oxford: 2000).

⁹ Kristeller P.O., *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains* (New York: 1961) 73.

showed him to be, on the contrary, an important Christian theologian.¹⁰ In 1968 I published my book on Egidio da Viterbo and two years later Donald Weinstein his on Savonarola.¹¹ The following year Charles Trinkaus published his two landmark volumes entitled *In Our Image and Likeness* on what he called the 'rhetorical theology' of the Italian Renaissance.¹² Two years later Trinkaus organized an international conference at the University of Michigan on late medieval and Renaissance religion that further stimulated interest in the subject and resulted in another influential volume, *The Pursuit of Holiness*.¹³

By the middle of the decade the pump had been well primed, and other publications began to appear, including Henri de Lubac's rehabilitation of Pico della Mirandola's orthodoxy as a Christian thinker, 1974, Charles Stinger's study of Ambrogio Traversari and the patristic revival in the Renaissance, 1977, and my analysis of the sermons preached in the Sistine Chapel, 1979.¹⁴ Scholarship on religion, that is, on Catholicism, in Renaissance Italy was no longer a non-field. It was well on its way from periphery to the central position it occupies today.¹⁵

In 1969, scholars in northern Europe celebrated the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Erasmus with several collections of studies on the great humanist, in which a number of contributions touched on religious themes. This anniversary also occasioned two important, long-term projects: in Amsterdam the publication of a critical edition of Erasmus's works, and in Toronto the publication in English of his works in a magnificent series entitled *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, a project that, when completed, will number some seventy volumes. In 1971 Georges Chantraine, a Belgian Jesuit, published a profoundly

¹⁰ Fois M., *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente* (Rome: 1969); Di Napoli G., *Lorenzo Valla: Filosofia e religione nell'umanesimo italiano* (Rome: 1971); and Camporeale S., *Lorenzo Valla: Umanesimo e teologia* (Florence: 1972).

¹¹ O'Malley J.W., *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden: 1968), and Weinstein D., *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: 1970).

¹² Trinkaus C., *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Renaissance Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago: 1970).

¹³ Trinkaus C. – Oberman H. (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference* (Leiden: 1974).

¹⁴ Lubac H. de, *Pic de la Mirandole* (Paris: 1974); Stinger C.L., *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439)* (Albany: 1977); O'Malley J.W., *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, ca. 1450–1521* (Durham, NC: 1979).

¹⁵ See Peterson D.S., "Out of the Margins: Religion and Church in Renaissance Italy", *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000) 835–879.

original study of Erasmus's theology and theological method.¹⁶ With publications like these, and the many that followed, Erasmus finally emerged fully vindicated as a religious thinker, no longer the theological wimp depicted by Luther, the crypto-Lutheran depicted by Catholics, or the proto-Rationalist depicted by the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment.

It was in Germany in the late eighteenth century that the term Counter Reformation originated. Coined by a Lutheran jurist and originally meant to designate certain actions that Catholics took against Lutherans, it had by the twentieth century commonly come to designate Catholicism itself during the early modern period. Catholic scholars in Germany had generally not been pleased with this designation but were unable to arrive at a consensus on an alternative. However, in 1946 a young Catholic priest, Hubert Jedin, published an essay in which he maintained that the proper designation for the Catholic side of the era was Counter-Reformation-and-Catholic-Reform.¹⁷ Jedin's point was that church reform was a lively issue in Catholicism before the Reformation and even more lively after the Council of Trent. In other words, Catholicism was not simply *against* something. It was also *for* something. In many circles Jedin carried the day, yet the term was long-winded. Most scholars inside and outside Germany stuck doggedly to Counter Reformation, whereas others, especially Catholic scholars, chose simply Catholic Reform or Catholic Reformation.

In 1958 Ernst Walter Zeeden, professor at the University of Tübingen, published an article in which he called for a comparative study of Lutheranism and Catholicism as they dueled with each other from the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 to the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618. Among the scholars who paid heed, two would be by far the most influential—Wolfgang Reinhard, a Catholic, and Heinz Schilling, a Protestant. Working together and in tandem, they applied to the phenomenon the term confessionalization, *Konfessionalisierung*. By it they meant the intellectual and organizational hardening of the two confessions (Catholic and Lutheran) into more or less stable church structures with their own doctrines, constitutions, and religious and moral styles. While the two confessions differed in many ways, they evinced amazing similarity in how they intervened in culture, how they defended themselves from outside threats, and in the degree influence was exercised upon them by non-ecclesiastical forces, especially the state. Both sides, for instance, were delighted with the marriage of throne to altar, the marriage

¹⁶ Chantraine G., *Mystère et Philosophie du Christ selon Érasme: Étude de la lettre à P. Volz et de la 'Ratio verae theologiae'* (1518) (Namur – Gembloux: 1971).

¹⁷ See O'Malley, *Trent and All That* 1–71.

of the state with the Church. In other words, the two churches were more alike than either of them was aware or ready to admit. With the introduction of the term confessionalization, Reinhard and Schilling wanted to move discussion of religion out of the narrow framework of church history and have it indicate a fundamental process in the social history of early modern Europe by providing, as they said, 'a historically accurate conception of the social effects of religion and the churches'. Their categories caught on especially in Germany and Italy but had limited success elsewhere. Nonetheless, with confessionalization they had in effect provided an alternative to both Reformation and Counter-Reformation-and-Catholic-Reform as ways to speak about the religious dimensions of the era.¹⁸

Meanwhile in Germany, Jedin finally completed, in 1975, the four volumes of his *History of the Council of Trent*, the first comprehensive history of that landmark event for Catholicism since the seventeenth century.¹⁹ Jedin was well prepared for the task. He had researched full-time in the Vatican archives for some fifteen years and while there helped with the critical edition of the *Concilium Tridentinum*. The *Geschichte* immediately became and will long remain the standard account of the event. It dispelled myths, reduced the Council to human size, and revealed how measured in the context of the times its decrees were. It implicitly showed how badly the Council had been interpreted by Catholics, Protestants, and just about everybody else on the face of the earth. In so doing it implicitly directed a spotlight beyond the Council to personalities, communities, and institutions that wittingly or unwittingly were responsible for the misinterpretations, and it thereby enlarged scholars' vision of the complexity of Early Modern Catholicism.

Whereas the ravages of the Thirty Years War had made the seventeenth century a disaster for Germany, that century rated almost as a golden age for French culture and civilization. Besides authors like Molière and other literary luminaries, it produced in France such great religious figures as Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal, François de Sales, and especially Vincent de Paul, who in terms of the popular imagination was almost the French equivalent of Francis of Assisi. French historians, therefore, had never been comfortable with Counter Reformation, and sought alternatives to it. At first, moreover, they paid little attention to the confessionalization thesis. In 1971, for instance, Jean Delumeau tried to sidestep the naming problem by entitling his book simply *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*. But Counter Reformation had

¹⁸ Ibid. 106–117.

¹⁹ Jedin H., *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. in 5 tomes (Freiburg im Br.: 1949–1975). On Jedin, see O'Malley, *Trent and All That* 46–71.

such a strong hold on the historical profession that when Delumeau's book was translated into English, the editors felt constrained to add a clarifying subtitle: *A New View of the Counter Reformation*.²⁰ In any case, beginning in 1929 France produced the most important historiographical developments of the twentieth century, many of which had profound repercussions on the study of Catholicism. In 1929 Lucien Febvre, one of the founders of the *Annales* school of historiography, published his immensely influential article, "Une question mal posée"; this passionate article dismissed as ridiculous the standard thesis that revulsion at ecclesiastical abuses caused the Reformation.²¹

For Febvre, who had a remarkably positive appreciation for the doctrines and ethos of early Protestantism, the Reformation was spiritually too powerful to have been caused simply by a reaction to a bad state of affairs. To understand what happened, we must, according to him, set aside our preoccupation with such institutional factors and turn our attention to the thoughts, aspirations, and desires of the men and women of the time. To this end we must especially study the sermons, books of devotion, and practices of piety of those men and women in their social and economic contexts. According to him, the Reformation succeeded not because it dealt with abuses but because 'it was the outward sign and the work of a profound revolution of religious sentiment'. Febvre said that historians must study religion, not churches, if they want to understand the sixteenth century. His article gave impetus to a broader historiographical movement underway that sought to dislodge history, even church history, from its preoccupation with great men and great events. In that same year of 1929, for instance, Febvre had, along with Marc Bloch, founded the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. In its pages a new kind of geographical, economic, and social history came into being, in which were studied human communities and their collective mentalities as they responded to their ever-so-slowly evolving material and social environments. But *Annales* is far from being the whole story.

In the same fateful year of 1929, Étienne Delaruelle, a Catholic priest, published his first article. Although he was never directly connected with Febvre or Bloch, he showed the same desire to move away from the traditional focus on ecclesiastical politics. His writings stressed the importance of the laity and of popular practices and cults. Indeed, almost every article he wrote contained the

²⁰ Delumeau J., *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter Reformation*, with an Introduction by John Bossy, trans. J. Moiser (Philadelphia: 1977; original French, Paris: 1971).

²¹ Febvre L., "Une question mal posée: Les origines de la Réforme française et le problème des causes de la Réforme", *La Revue historique* 159 (1929) 1–73.

word popular in its title, indicating an approach to the history of Catholicism in which he was a pioneer. Again in 1929 Gabriel Le Bras, a Catholic specialist in the history of canon law, assumed a prestigious chair in the law faculty of the University of Paris. Two years later he issued a call for a statistical and quantitative study of French Catholicism. The call was efficacious in recruiting scholars for a new approach to religious history. Le Bras thus became a leader in the application of sociological methods to the historical study of religion. He proposed to study, as he said, 'the structure and life of organized groups for which the sacred was their beginning and end'.²² Moreover, like the *Annales* historians, he worked toward an *histoire totale* that would encompass as many disciplines as possible and that would see a whole society behind every institution. In effect, he promoted another historiographical development ever more cultivated in the past few decades: microhistory. Although Le Bras did not promote the study of heretics, Jews, and other marginalized groups of French society as a way to help define 'the ordinary Christian' through definition of 'the other', by 1970 such research, some of which would be catalyzed by Michel Foucault's theories, gained ground.

This shift from a top-down historical perspective to a bottom-up perspective, from church histories to histories of Christianity, has yielded rich results for the history of Catholicism in the early modern period—Catholicism, with its almost infinite number of important entities only loosely, if at all, connected with the hierarchy—confraternities and sodalities, religious orders of both men and women, including their third orders, cathedral chapters, and local shrines and pilgrimage sites, to name only the most obvious. Each of these entities, whether local or part of a network, had its own traditions, its own role in society, and its own jealously defended rights and privileges.

Of particular importance in this regard has been the flowering of interest in Catholic missionaries, now studied not only as evangelizers but, for better or for worse, as agents of change more broadly. The Jesuit mission to China opened in the late sixteenth century by Matteo Ricci has created a flood of excellent scholarship which has paid special attention to the Jesuits as physicists, astronomers, cartographers, artists, and, yes, musicians. The recently published *Jesuit Mapmaking in China* describes and illustrates the largest cartographic undertaking in history up to that point; it was carried out by Jesuit missionaries with the full cooperation of Emperor Kangxi.²³ In other words, the history

²² Le Bras G., "Sociologie religieuse et science des religions", *Archives de sociologie des religions* 1 (1956) 3–17, at 6.

²³ Ribeiro R.M. – O'Malley J.W. (eds.), *Jesuit Mapmaking in China: D'Anville's 'Nouvelle Atlas de la Chine'* (1737) (Philadelphia: 2014).

of Early Modern Catholicism now has a global, rather than a Eurocentric focus, and a cultural as well as a religious dimension. The history of missions has, moreover, promoted the relatively new historical field of material culture.

These new approaches to religious history have helped bring to the surface the role of women in the construction of institutions and mentalities, a role that in Catholicism was rich and varied. Teresa of Ávila has emerged from her cloister to be recognized as a stunningly effective organizer and one of the most broadly influential figures of the sixteenth century. In France of the *ancien régime*, the Jesuits were responsible for about ninety schools, the Ursuline nuns for many more. Such approaches have also helped us re-imagine the early Society of Jesus, a subject that has emerged with force from conventional church history to become in the past twenty years the single, most widely studied institution of Early Modern Catholicism. While working on *The First Jesuits*, I was affected by all the movements I have described.²⁴ Working on the book led me, moreover, to question the adequacy of the standard description of the Jesuits as 'shock-troops of the Counter Reformation' and as reformers of the Catholic Church. If the terms Counter Reformation and Catholic Reform could not be applied to the Jesuits without their dying the death of a thousand qualifications, were those terms adequate to describe the larger Catholic reality of the era?

It was questions like these that led me to propose Early Modern Catholicism as a useful category because it was more comprehensive than the alternatives. Under its umbrella the more standard categories find room, but the space there must be shared. Early Modern Catholicism is a category not to replace the others but to relativize them by suggesting the greater breadth of the Catholic reality. No serious historian could deny the strong Counter-Reformation impulses in Catholic churchmen and Catholic political leaders, nor deny an equally strong impulse to reform church institutions, the great task of the Council of Trent. Many scholars, further, are convinced of the usefulness of Confessionalization as a category to help us understand what was going on. Yet, what about devotion? What about the foreign missions? What about the zeal for humanistically inspired schools for both boys and girls? What about art? Indeed, what about music? These realities and many more fit best under the rubric of Early Modern Catholicism. Hence the title of our book.

This chapter began by venturing the opinion that the study of Early Modern Catholicism was in good shape. Our volume is itself a sign of its well-being. Another sign is that fifteen years ago a new academic organization called

24 O'Malley J.W., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: 1993).

The Society for Early Modern Catholic Studies was founded, especially given that a prime mover behind the founding, the late Thomas F. Mayer, was not a Catholic. Today it is clear that a strikingly keen interest in Catholicism has been sparked and that it has captured an international community of scholars from a wide variety of disciplines. These scholars have discovered that seemingly limitless quantities of primary documents rest unexamined in libraries, archives, and church attics begging to be exploited.

The result has been dramatic. When I first went to Italy in the 1960s, I lamented that virtually every well trained historian interested in religious history in the early modern period studied Italian heretics. The history of Italian heretics is interesting, important, and instructive, but where, I asked, were the historians interested in Catholicism, the mainstream of Italian religious history. Today I no longer have that lament and no longer have to ask the question. Even twenty years ago, at meetings of the Renaissance Society of America and the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference there might be one or two sessions dedicated to Catholicism out of a mix of many dozens. That is no longer the case, especially for the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, where in 2014 at least seven sessions were dedicated to the Jesuits alone. The change is mirrored in the publication list of university or other academic presses. A recent catalog of Ashgate Publishers, for instance, lists about forty titles in a series entitled *Catholic Christendom*.²⁵ Catholicism, far from being the dull stepsister of the Reformation, has been revealed as a reality alive with life and sparkling with diversity. Partly because of that diversity, interdisciplinarity has emerged as a rather consistent desideratum of early-modern-Catholic studies. This desideratum is the fruit of the historiographical trajectory especially of the past twenty years toward ever greater inclusiveness, toward the 'total history' that French theorists such as Le Bras earlier tried to promote. Of the many examples of such studies I will mention by way of example only the recent *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* by Barbara Wisch and Nerida Newbigin.²⁶ The book in masterly fashion weaves together the social history of a confraternity managed by laymen and laywomen with the confraternity's artistic production, performative practices, and spiritual inspiration. In such interdisciplinary studies, music has until now played a relatively minor role. To provide music a bigger role, musicologists, like all other academics but perhaps more so, must make a very deliberate

²⁵ Following the takeover of Ashgate by Routledge in 2016, the series now continues under the imprint of Brill [Editors' note].

²⁶ Wisch B. – Newbigin N., *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia: 2013).

effort to break out of their disciplinary confines, something that is not easy for any of us. But musicologists have to face the more daunting problem that music is a sound phenomenon, whereas so many of the others are visual, easily reproduced on a page.

Some years ago I gathered together a small group of scholars to edit two interdisciplinary collections of studies on the Jesuits of the early modern period.²⁷ The contributions to the volumes were chosen from papers read at two large, international conferences held at Boston College that we had organized. At each conference we mounted a production of a Jesuit opera, which was in each case without a doubt the high point of the meeting. In the second of the volumes we edited, we included a DVD of the opera, and thus solved the problem of sound. But that is an expensive, difficult, and labor-intensive expedient.

The good news is that musicological studies can be interdisciplinary without an audio reproduction of the music, as is clear from studies that situate the music in the historical background in which it was produced. To our first Jesuit volume, for instance, William J. Summers contributed an exciting article on music in early modern Manila that stood beautifully on its own without accompanying sound.²⁸ The volume edited by Anna Celenza and Anthony DelDonna published in 2014 entitled *Music as Cultural Mission: Explorations of Jesuit Practices in Italy and North America*, does the same on a larger scale.²⁹ But interdisciplinarity is only one aspect of early modern Catholic studies and far from being the dominant one. The more pervasive characteristics are their high quality and their sophistication. In that regard musicologists can be proud. They have shown that in the early modern period music was often at the center of courts, churches, confraternities, and even missions. In some instances music almost defined those institutions. If other documents rest unexamined in archives and attics in almost mythical quantities, the same is true of musical texts. If for other scholars of the Catholic world of the early modern period the future holds great promise, the same is also true for musicologists.

²⁷ O'Malley J.W. et al. (eds.), *The Jesuits [I]: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: 1999), and *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: 2006).

²⁸ Summers W.J., "The Jesuits in Manila, 1581–1621: The Role of Music in Rite, Ritual, and Spectacle", in O'Malley, *The Jesuits [I]: Cultures* 659–679.

²⁹ Celenza A.H. – DelDonna A.R. (eds.), *Music as Cultural Mission: Explorations of Jesuit Practices in Italy and North America* (Philadelphia: 2014).

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Music among the Disciplines in Early Modern Catholicism

Robert L. Kendrick

The historiography of Catholic music in the early modern era has acquired weight and interdisciplinary resonance, in good part thanks to the work of those represented elsewhere in this volume. It is now a matter of course that such research involves issues from gender history to listening practices to ritual theory. This essay seeks only to synthesize a few broad areas of inquiry, and to examine how music history writing might enter into further dialogue. Just as other fields are beginning to explore the sacrality of ‘sound studies’, ‘soundscapes’, and ‘sonic architecture’, one possible path forward for music historiography is to engage art, spirituality, and social history in ways related to actual musical practice.¹ In past scholarship, the ‘short’ sixteenth century, from the Sack of Rome in 1527 to the self-confident monumentalities of Sixtus V and Clement VIII (1585/1592), has given a temporal frame to the discussion, as it will in this essay.

1 Issues of Images and the Spectrum of the Sensorium

Several generations ago, when the field was still defined in terms of the binary ‘Renaissance/Counter Reformation’ (as if no Catholic before 1550 was concerned with reforming religious life, or no one after had a fundamentally humanistic training), many guiding ideas were taken ultimately from Central European art history as exemplified by Wölfflin or Riegl. Still, more recent work on images and the sacred suggests other heuristic paths.

¹ One historical approach to issues of sonic ambiance can be found in Rospocher M., “The Battle for the Piazza: Creative Antagonism between Itinerant Preachers and Street Singers in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy”, in Dall’Aglio S. – Richardson B. – Rospocher M. (eds.), *Voices and Texts in Early Modern Italian Society* (London: 2017) 212–228. Certainly the opposite scenario, in terms of the sacred/secular categories—e.g., street vendors vs. litany singers—must also have taken place.

For visual arts, one touchstone has been the representation of the sacred in the later Cinquecento. Several essays in a collection edited by Tracy Cooper and Marcia Hall bring this to the fore: Cooper's introduction points to the ongoing value of sensuous depiction of the sacred both before and after Trent, while other papers highlight the debate over decorum vs. realism in religious painting as a rhetorical struggle over decorum in the visual depiction of sacred subjects.² In addition, the physical beauty of painted figures, whatever anxiety they might have caused for prelates such as Carlo Borromeo or Gabriele Paleotti, also related to traditional Christian Neoplatonic ideals of such beauty as a marker for sanctity and perfection, and were thus all the more effective in combining the 'didactic' with the 'aesthetic' (if these categories can be separated in Early Modern Catholicism).

How images—and music—were received was also central. Pamela Jones has attempted to recreate, not a single meaning, but rather 'communities of interpretation' historically constituted, for each of five altarpieces in Rome (including a relatively late one for Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini whose music was the subject of a now-classic study by Noel O'Regan).³ Obviously, this is harder for polyphony than for artworks, the latter with their possibilities for recreating the entire decoration of a church or chapel, the details of the work's commissioning, and the large amount of ekphrastic literature that such images spawned into the seventeenth century.

One other case of altarpieces, even before Trent, is also suggestive. The crucial events of the 1530s, with its *spirituali*, heterodox preachers, and Valdesians in Italy, and alternating hostilities/negotiations between Catholics and Lutherans in Germany, also gave rise to new forms of devotional culture (not for nothing was Girolamo Malipiero's *Il Petrarca spirituale* first printed in 1536, although it should be noted that the volume was as much of a critique of Petrarch as it was a spiritual rewriting of the *Canzoniere*).⁴ The reforming

² Hall M.B. – Cooper T. (eds.), *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (New York: 2013); methodologically, some essays include O'Malley J.W., "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses of the Sensuous", and especially Talvacchia B., "The Word Made Flesh: Spiritual Subjects and Carnal Depictions in Renaissance Art" along with Gaston R.W., "How Words Control Images: The Rhetoric of Decorum in Counter-Reformation Italy". Notably, these text-derived studies seem the ones most immediately relevant to music.

³ O'Regan N., *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, 1550–1650* (London: 1995). One might add to the church's cultural presence its function as a food provider: see Nurra F., *La mensa dei poveri a Trinità dei Pellegrini: economia solidale nella Roma del Cinquecento* (Florence: 2005).

⁴ One essay that delineates the background is Forni G., "Vittoria Colonna, la 'Canzone alla Vergine', e la poesia spirituale", in Doglio M.L. – Delcorno C. (eds.), *Rime sacre dal Petrarca al Tasso* (Bologna: 2005), esp. 63–71; Paolo Cecchi gives a good summary in his thorough study

Bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti, was among the champions of new initiatives, and Vincenzo Ruffo's early career in Giberti's Verona has been seen as a precursor for later reforms in Milan. Indeed, the puzzling treatise by the Verona Cathedral chapelmaster Biagio Rossetti, which begins with solmization but moves to abolishing 'abuses' in the celebration of the Mass and Office, was dedicated precisely to Giberti.⁵ This moment also underlies Alexander Nagel's consideration of anti-representational altarpieces in cathedrals and shrines in the Veneto of the 1520s/30s, given the prelate's plans which incorporated a simpler, even anti-representational, ideal of sacred art.⁶ Ruffo's early training thus unfolded in a geographic area that witnessed the conjunction of humanism, reformed devotion, and music. Certainly, a slightly later Verona was also the training-ground for the young Marc'Antonio Ingegneri, one of the most published figures in Italy later on.

If we consider the various strictures against 'sensuous' music emanating from the episcopal reformers, or from the more vague prescriptions of Trent's Session xxv (at the very last minute, as matters wound down quickly in late 1563), as being in some way equivalent to the attempted restrictions on art, we might be surprised at the degree to which music was conceived as having the same power and danger that the 'suspect' altarpieces were conceived as carrying.

Since so much of the musicological discourse has cited strictures against worldly or improper secular subjects in music, we might also reconsider this well-worn issue in terms of such issues as decorum/physicality. Even in a literalist hearing, is it correct to assume that listeners to Jachet of Mantua's or Philippe de Monte's Masses based on Cipriano de Rore's famed madrigal *Ancor che col partire*, a public who would have recognized the unmistakable citation of the model at the beginnings of the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei sections, would have thought only of the erotic associations connected to Rore's musical elongation of 'partire' as applied to the Ordinary text?⁷

of *Vergine* cycles from Rore onwards, "La fortuna musicale della 'Canzone alla Vergine' petrarchesca e il primo madrigale spirituale", in Chegai A. – Luzzi C. (eds.), *Petrarca in musica* (Lucca: 2005) 245–291.

⁵ Rossetti Biagio, *Libellus de rudimentis musices* (Verona, Stephanus & fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio: 1529).

⁶ Nagel A., *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: 2011), whose part 3, "Soft Iconoclasm", 197–285, considers this moment in Giberti's pastoral aesthetics as favoring the non-representational (if not the anti-representational).

⁷ Jachet's Mass is the first in his *Il primo libro de le messe a cinque* (Venice, Scotto: 1554); Monte's exists in some three manuscript sources (Berlin, Brussels, and Ljubljana; see Comberiati C.P., *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court* [Montreux: 1987]).

These two pieces were likely to have been first heard in contexts of ‘high’ culture, mid-century Mantua and the Rudolphine musical establishment, respectively, both devotionally liberal but hardly anti-religious environments. Indeed, Jachet’s piece was advertised as the first Ordinary in an edition issued in the lifetime of both its composer and his patron Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga. The Cardinal, who personally paid the composer’s salary, was the leading representative of patrician reform in mid-century Italy.⁸ A generation later, Monte’s piece was likely copied into its Prague court manuscript while Rudolph was outwardly still in agreement with Rome. It hardly seems likely that these bore subversive or secular intent. Might their audible *imitatio* suggest another relationship between model and composed artifact?

In a similar vein, having to do with sacred decorum and ‘emic’ perceptions of *honor* in ritual behavior, one could separate clerical critiques of precomposed music from those directed against musical practice, especially in sacralized spaces. Across a wide range of sixteenth-century Catholicism, the boundaries of musical behavior in churches and chapels were clearly flexible. The visitation by Archbishop Sigismondo Saraceno, freshly returned from the Council of Trent to his parishes in Matera (Basilicata) in 1567, resulted in the following decrees: ‘Since clerics are not permitted to sing worldly poems, verses but only psalms, hymns, and other *lodi* [...] they are admonished that neither by day or night may they play lutes nor other instruments, nor sing *versi, canzone, sonetti* and other amorous and worldly things [...] nor may they dance nor play in streets, piazzas, or other public places’, and a bit later that ‘all clerics must not permit worldly things to be sung in their churches, nor play dances even with the organs’.⁹

Thus the heuristic problem of what to infer from such synodal decrees against ‘irregular’ musical behavior returns: were the episcopal regulations effective? Did diocesan vicar generals know that they would be meaningless? Were they only ineffective if we find repetitions of the same decrees over decades of synods? And do such testimonies actually reflect the musical spirit of a late medieval *communitas* as described by John Bossy, one which early modern social disciplining would only partially, and with struggle, banish? What of the conflicts between curias and communities over different conceptions of decorum and *honor*? Similarly, by positing a kind of curial *panauricon* in the sense of Bentham/Foucault—an apparatus that some members of the

⁸ On Ercole, see Murphy P.V., *Ruling Peacefully: Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Patrician Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Washington, DC: 2007).

⁹ Saraceno’s decrees are given in Jeno de’ Coronei N., *Sinodo materese del 1597 [sic]* (Rome: 1880).

hierarchy might have wished they had—are we actually imposing an overly disciplinary framework on the variety of early modern practice, recreating not the actual life of an institution or neighborhood but rather more generalized clerical anxiety? Part of the problem is the many demands made on hearing as a sense, even in the sixteenth century: processing the messages of sermons, sung texts in many formats, or the differing markers of urban versus rural life must have been challenging, and should warn us against overly facile conceptions of a single auditory mode. Beyond vision and hearing, the sacrality of touch and smell has come into scholarly consideration only recently.¹⁰

2 ‘Subaltern’ Musical Devotion?¹¹

Saraceno’s decrees in Matera suggest that piety and decorum might have sounded differently from below, and that the concept of *honor* could have contradictory musical expressions. Renaissance sacred music was until recently treated only as high-culture practice, but doing so entails ignoring the evidence of popular music-making and of the ways in which music could cut across social classes, without losing track of the material basis of its production. A wider range of Catholics than simply professionals participated in chant, vernacular repertoires, or polyphony, and another recent set of studies gives examples for Italy and France, the practice of missionaries both in and out of Europe, notably in the Italian Mezzogiorno, as well as ample coverage

¹⁰ The two appearances of music in De Boer W. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2013) include Pietschmann K., “The Sense of Hearing Politicized: Liturgical Polyphony and Political Ambition in Fifteenth-Century Florence”, and Fenlon I., “Piazza San Marco: Theatre of the Senses, Market Place of the World”, 273–288 and 331–362, respectively; these excellent essays are on different issues than those addressed here.

¹¹ I use this term in full awareness of its remarkable passage from Antonio Gramsci’s thought to South Asian studies. For one conjunction of devotion, music, and social class in modern India, see Schultz A.C., *Singing a Hindi Nation: Marathi Devotional Performance and Nationalism* (Oxford: 2013). An aspect of Gramsci’s own evolving use of the term is its intersection with religion, relevant to studies also of early modern Catholic Europe; for the evolution of the term in Gramsci, see Green M., “Gramsci Cannot Speak: Presentations and Interpretations of Gramsci’s Concept of the Subaltern”, *Rethinking Marxism* 14, 3 (2002) 1–24, and idem, “Race, Class, and Religion: Gramsci’s Conception of Subalternity”, in Zene C. (ed.), *The Political Philosophies of Antonio Gramsci and B.R. Ambedkar: Itineraries of Dalits and Subalterns* (New York: 2013) 116–128.

of Jesuit and Oratorian practice in popular situations.¹² For instance, musical life in southern Italy, which one sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuit would call ‘las Indias de por acá’, or ‘the Indies of down here below’, flourished, although not necessarily in ways deemed suitable by the hierarchy.¹³ Thus the division between music for the *semplici* as opposed to what the *semplici* themselves did as sacred music-making becomes crucial.

Community events included annual or occasional litanies, processions, urban entrances, and the liminal passage of funeral rites. Even after a generation of diocesan reforms, the plethora of litany texts in northern Italy in the 1590s, sung for both festive civic events and domestic Eucharistic devotion, caused another Roman crackdown on such ‘irregularities’ by Clement VIII in 1601. In addition to invoking Eucharistic, Marian, or sanctoral protection, these celebrations were also a locus for social conflict.

Like local liturgies, the accounts resist a clear separation of ‘music’ on these occasions into chant, improvised polyphony, or precomposed *Satz*, and the widespread prevalence of orally-composed polyphony should caution against easy equivalence of social class with musical complexity.¹⁴ Certainly Italian *falsobordone* seems to be the written reflection of what began—and continues today—as an oral tradition. One texture entitled ‘more rusticorum’ is found in an alternate petition of the Litany for the Dead in Lodovico Viadana’s four-voice Requiem Mass and Office from its reprint of 1609 (and although Clement’s suppression of the text would occur the following year, Viadana’s print was evidently used and even reprinted again in 1616).¹⁵ Was this simply a case of a Franciscan composer—close socially and ideologically to popular practice, despite his sojourn in Rome and his not-so-novel use of solo singing in motets—notating what he had heard in the countryside? A different procedure was that of *cantus planus binatim* or simple chant-based polyphony, used by other Observant Franciscans, those in the north Italian prince-bishopric of

¹² Nanni S. (ed.), *La musica dei semplici: L'altra Controriforma* (Rome: 2012).

¹³ This term, from a letter of January 1575 by Miguel Navarro, became iconic due to its use in De Martino E., *La terra del rimorso: Contributo a una storia religiosa del Sud* (Milan: 1961).

¹⁴ Canguilhem P., “Singing upon the Book According to Vicente Lusitano”, *Early Music History* 30 (2011) 55–104; Fiorentino G., “‘Cantar por uso’ and ‘cantar fabordón’: The ‘Unlearned’ Tradition of Oral Polyphony in Renaissance Spain (and beyond)”, *Early Music* 43, 1 (2015) 23–35.

¹⁵ Macchiarella I., *Il falsobordone fra tradizione orale e tradizione scritta* (Lucca: 1995) 215–218. This item was not present in Viadana’s original edition of 1600 and thus must represent a practice that the composer heard in his itinerant career. On the *falsobordone*, see also Macchiarella’s chapter in the present volume.

Trent.¹⁶ For this practice we have both notated sources and outside testimony well into the eighteenth century, but with evidently far earlier roots.

The demography, and role in the devotional economy, of such improvising singers is yet to be precisely determined, although all of them must have received some kind of training, and certainly both secular and mendicant male clergy were numerous.¹⁷ Through the Cinquecento, small hired groups, never formally organized into chapels, seem to have remained important in Italy.¹⁸ In addition, the fluid labor market of cathedral musicians in Iberia might well have worked differently from the Italian system. The conjunction of the economies of prestige and musical labor seems to demand further clarification, and the material aspects of the performance system included first and foremost the highly specialized craft of singers along with the increasing presence (and cost) of prints and manuscripts over the course of the century.

For all that domestic devotion in Catholicism has been downplayed since Bossy, such practice was basic for small communities in those areas irretrievably lost to Protestant authority: the United Provinces, England, and some regions of France. From the top parts of Byrd's sacred music to the practices of Italian noblewomen, domesticity also involved women singing outside of monastic settings. To judge by the Venetian presses' investments in the spiritual madrigal prints of Philippe de Monte, at least, there must have been some kind of market for domestic sacred music. In the Americas, as well as Christianized outposts of Africa, the Indian subcontinent, or East Asia, the initial lack of an infrastructure capable of generating semiprofessional singers or organists would seem to have shifted musical production for local celebrations to cathedral singers. In addition, scholarship has been careful not to accept at face value the accounts, normally by missionaries or other clergy, of indigenous peoples' unproblematic role in established ensembles or ritual celebration. In some places, members of indigenous populations could rise to the relatively prestigious labor status of singers in cathedral or collegiate churches. Despite some historiographic doubts, in New Spain the later sixteenth century increasingly

¹⁶ Cattin G. – Gallo F.A. (eds.), *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, Quaderni di Musica e storia 3 (Venice – Bologna: 2002).

¹⁷ Mischiati O., "Profilo storico della cappella musicale in Italia nei secoli xv–xviii", in Ficola D. (ed.), *Musica sacra in Sicilia tra Rinascimento e Barocco* (Palermo: 1985) 23–45.

¹⁸ E.g., Bryant D., "Le pratiche della musica nelle chiese monastiche e parrocchiali di Padova (secc. XVI–XVIII)", in Padoan M. et al. (eds.), *Barocco padano e musici francescani: L'apporto dei maestri conventuali* (Padua: 2014) 1–16.

seems a moment of diglossia (Castilian-Nahuatl) mediated by music linking the two cultural constructs of the sacred.¹⁹

Perhaps non-Europeans in or out of the continent might seem a minor part of sacred music-making. Yet the non-trivial numbers of Africans in Naples, Palermo, or Lisbon, along with native peoples' experience of Catholic music from Mexico to Kongo to Kerala, both highlight a more universal participation. Even inside more homogenous Continental cities, musical devotion easily crossed lines of caste or locale; in a later generation, when the ideological propagation of piety was more centrally organized, the construction of Carlo Borromeo's cult was evident in both popular *laude* and the polychoral *Missa borromaeica* of the Brescian organ-builder Costanzo Antegnati, printed on the occasion of Carlo's beatification in 1603. Devotion to Borromeo was championed by such nobility as his relative Carlo Gesualdo as well as by popular social classes in Milan, Brescia, and Turin and as far away as Prague.

Another mark of polyphony's reach, if not participatory nature, is the kind of capillary performances by groups of singers and instrumentalists freelancing in urban centers for titular feasts, special celebrations, and Eucharistic and/or Marian devotion. Even in the small Ligurian town of Sarzana, halfway between Genoa and Pisa, the cathedral organist, itinerant Olivetan monk, and only local salaried musician Barnaba Milleville brought singers in for the days of Easter in 1624 (with the result, not unfamiliar to church musicians today, that he was chastised by the chapter for overspending and left within a year).

The issue of peripatetic sacred music raises two other problems, first, that of sacred music in motion. It is still not entirely clear if and how multipart singing was coordinated in processions that were actually enroute. Clearly polyphony at the various stations of the Lesser Litanies or Corpus Christi would have marked sacred space in a special way. Possibly litanies' liminal status between oral and written singing has something to do with their seeming absence from most Iberian sources until about 1650, while quite present in Italy and Catholic Germany.

More widely, we might also think about how music moved around intercontinental Catholicism.²⁰ Just to judge from the Jesuit accounts of their journeys to India, music was performed on board ships for duplex feasts on a regular

¹⁹ Candelaria L., "Bernardino de Sahagún's *Psalmodia christiana*: A Catholic Songbook from Sixteenth-Century New Spain", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, 3 (2014) 619–684.

²⁰ I share the scepticism at the overuse of the term 'global' in this context, best expressed by Brockley L.M., *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: 2014), at 428–429.

basis during the decades of the 1550s and 60s. We have fewer accounts of the musically active mendicants, largely Franciscans, on their journeys to New Spain, but the prominence of members of orders—regulars—also raises their position as specialists in sacred music.

3 Ordering Polyphony

One interface between complex music-making and popular devotion was thus the religious orders. The post-1570 role of some male congregations—notably the Oratorians and the Conventual Franciscans in Italian public life, along with the more ‘internal’ Spanish Hieronymites at the Escorial and Guadalupe—can obscure the intense suspicion of polyphony and even chant typical of those new formations, male and female, that were central to the mid-sixteenth-century moment of Catholic reform.²¹ The early disdain of the Jesuits has often been noted (although one of the first places this would change would be on the missions in South Asia), but other new orders, in Europe and elsewhere, also specifically banned polyphony, regarding it as an obstacle to their mission.²² Such decrees included not only the active orders of the Theatines, Somascans, Barnabites, Capuchins, but also the contemplatives of Teresa of Ávila’s Discalced Carmelites, and the Augustinian Recollects of Luis de León (these last three thus departing from the medieval musical practices of the mendicant traditions that spawned them). The notable exception for Rome, Naples, and central Italy is of course the Oratorians, whose influence in the Eternal City has recently been strikingly documented.²³ Recent research has shown the Andalusian/Novohispanic composer Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla to have been an Oratorian. Less appealingly, he, along with many other clerics in Puebla, owned slaves, something that might make us rethink such textbook pieces as *Ah, siolo Flasiquillo*, his 1653 Christmas *villancico en negrillo*.²⁴

²¹ For the Escorial, the classic study is Noone M.J., *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563–1700* (Rochester, NY: 1998).

²² A very helpful collection of new approaches to Jesuit musical practices covers a later moment, in Filippi D.V. (ed.), “Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: Music and Sound in the Ministries of Early Modern Jesuits”, special issue, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, 3 (2016).

²³ Piéjus A., *Musique et dévotion à Rome à la fin de la Renaissance: Les laudes de l’Oratoire* (Turnhout: 2013).

²⁴ Mauleón Rodríguez G., “Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla desde el ámbito civil: un corpus documental”, in idem (ed.), *Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla y la época palafoxiana* (Puebla: 2010).

The numbers among older monastic and mendicant groups tied to music, trying to make their way in a new devotional world, are striking: in Italy, some 60 Benedictines among the monastics, compared to 140 Franciscans (mainly Conventuals, with Observants more specialized in chant and chant-generated polyphony), 50 Augustinians (or Augustinian-rule canons), 23 Servites, and 16 Carmelites. These figures contrast with the members of the new orders: two Barnabites, four Jesuits, one Theatine, and no Capuchins.²⁵

Among the older congregations, the relationship among devotion, print, and labor came to the fore. Following Giosèffo Zarlino's musical realization of Biblical exegesis by one leading intellectual of the Cassinese Benedictines, the Congregation's attempts around 1565 to highlight their traditions in print seem to have failed, and it is telling that they would then sponsor editions by their leading composer around 1575, the Brescian monk Placido Falconio, of Mass and Office items taken not from the Congregation's own Breviary and Missal, but rather from the new universal Roman books. On the other hand, a 1596 motet by a later Cassinese, the Milanese Serafino Cantone, was printed without specific destination and seems to be an example of wisdom *paraenesis*, but its compilation from the books of Tobias, Ecclesiastes, and Paul's Second Letter to Timothy recalls the volume's dedication to Cantone's Benedictine superior and patron, Serafino Fontana.²⁶ Such pieces also raise issues of gender: in this case, the relationships among male musicians in and out of orders.

As a number of studies have shown, the dynamics among female monastic musicians could be quite different. The first clear evidence in print comes from Naples. Rocco Rodio's choirbook publication of 1573 contained his Vespers hymns, four Magnificats, and three motets together with various authors' quite florid *falsobordoni* for psalms, and was inscribed to Livia di Capua and Laura Manzolino. Livia was the daughter of the Duke of Termoli (Vincenzo di Capua) and the sister of Annibale, soon to become the archbishop of Naples. Although Rodio did not name the institution, the two women might have been attached without cloister (i.e., as *bizzochere*) to the Benedictine house of S. Gaudioso, for which the composer had witnessed a contract several years earlier. In 1588, the Neapolitan poet Giovanni Battista del Tufo would pen a tribute to the musical

²⁵ By tracing published composers among the orders, I update the original list of Mischiati O., "Un'indagine statistica sulla professione di musicista negli ordini religiosi tra XVI e XVIII secolo", in Franchi S. – Brumana B. (eds.), *'Laeta dies': Musiche per San Benedetto e attività musicali nei centri benedettini in età moderna* (Rome: 2004) 1–20.

²⁶ Zarlino Giosèffo, *Motets from 1549*, ed. C.C. Judd, 2 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 145 and 149 (Middleton, WI: 2006); Cantone's *Fili mi, si timueris* is in his *Sacrae cantiones [...] quinque vocum, liber primus* (Venice, Gardano: 1596).

skills of the house's nuns, echoing Rodio's praise of the two dedicatees' singing.²⁷ The items are set out in the standard c1-c3-c4-f4 clef combination and thus make no concessions to the limited vocal range of single-sex ensembles; the hymns, Magnificats, and motets are also notable for their contrapuntal complexity. That these women seem not to have been formally cloistered also raises the wider, unstudied issue, of laywomen's sacred music-making.

A second dedication comes from the other end of the peninsula. Tiburzio Massaino's Book 11 of five-voice motets was inscribed in 1580 to Suor Eugenia de' Navi, the vicarress of the Augustinian house of Santa Trinità in Como. This publication contains some 21 Latin-texted pieces, each apportioned to a feast or a season in the liturgical year, and scored for five 'equal' voices (*vocibus paribus*), a Cinquecento term for a combination of vocal parts whose overall range is slightly more than two octaves (as opposed to the far more prevalent *vocibus communibus*, stretching to almost three octaves). This allowed for performance by single-sex ensembles, i.e., women without bass voices or adult men without choirboys; the utility of this scoring for monastic institutions is obvious. Massaino, himself an Augustinian, had been commissioned by the abbess to write these pieces for the nuns to sing both in liturgy and as part of spiritual recreation, and the dedication suggests that the *educande* were involved, as well as the younger professed nuns. Most strikingly, the composer's inscription linked convent life (and presumably its music) to the development of their 'vivere politico e cristiano' (glossable as 'social and Christian community'), a term taken directly from Florentine republican civic ideology—and devotion.

Other dedications to nuns would follow in 1581 (Costanzo Antegnati's motets inscribed to the Benedictines of S. Giulia in Brescia) and 1583 (Giovanni Matteo Asola's double set of Compline items, for S. Daniele in Verona, from the same order). Earlier and non-printed evidence is harder to track, but at least one polyphonic codex was written around 1560 for a Florentine house, and the destination of some early equal-voice prints around 1544, with their high concentration of various sanctoral texts, was also possibly monastic.²⁸ This early,

²⁷ Rodio's *Psalmi ad vesperas* (Naples: 1575) have been reprinted in a facsimile, as *Salmi per i vespri*, ed. D. Fabris (Lamezia Terme: 1994); the house's praises were sung by G.B. del Tufo in his *Ritratto o modello delle grandezze, delizie e maraviglie della nobilissima città di Napoli* (1588; modern ed. Rome: 2007).

²⁸ The manuscript is Brussels, Bibliothèque des Conservatoires royaux, ms. 27766; see Boscolo L., "L'antologia polifonica fiorentina del 1560 nel Codice Bruxelles 27766", *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 11–12 (1995–1996) 177–267. Prof. Laurie Stras is preparing a major study of the equal-voice motet repertory from the 1540s with possible monastic connections.

if fragmentary, evidence for nuns' polyphony hints that some women were capable of performing from parts and perhaps improvising. If we consider only class and not gender, women singing sacred polyphony seem anything but subaltern.

4 Sacred Soundscapes or Sonic Ritual?

For all the current work, from architecture to urban studies to ethnomusicology, around the soundscape, long before its application to contemporary complex cities, it was the sacralized sounds of late medieval Bruges that brought it into Renaissance studies.²⁹ If studies of aural 'eventscapes', although not terribly influenced by history or culture, have given a sense of 'acoustic horizons', the question might be posed of what was acoustically possible in any given city and its neighborhoods in our period. Similarly, a recent book on the musical acoustics in Venetian Renaissance churches, complete with in situ recordings, spectrographs, and a (now-dysfunctional) website, is suggestive.³⁰ One methodological point is that there seems to have been no one single geography of sound, and here is a highly tentative list of different specific situations for Catholic centers. For instance, there were those cities around 1575 with topographic divisions separating spaces of ritual life and possibly musical practice: Prague, Naples, Toledo, Paris, Rome. Others—Madrid, Milan, Seville, Verona, or Munich (this last the smallest)—featured undifferentiated urban topography. Obviously, Venice represented a totally different kind of acoustic background. Among the 'sounds that bound' early modern Florence, the bells of the Badia mixed with those of the Palazzo Vecchio and the Duomo on both routine and special occasions; the sonic privatization of sacred polyphony to Medici court spaces after 1527 must have been counterbalanced by the Duomo's still nominally civic repertory and the spread of complex music to monastic, mendicant, and collegiate churches.

According to Angelo Rocca's *De campanis commentarium* of 1612, the use of large pitched bells was a sonic identifying factor for Christianity (as opposed

²⁹ Strohm R., *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: 1985). Part of the issue with Blessing B. – Salter L., *Spaces Speak: Are You Listening? Experiencing Aural Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: 2007) is the book's resolute concentration on (documentable) contemporary situations and lack of historical perspective.

³⁰ Howard D. – Moretti L., *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: 2008), although its results might be colored by the use of anachronistic performing forces and empty spaces.

to Islam or other world religions).³¹ The influential church intellectual Rocca framed his entire historical discussion in terms of the sacred, and it seems that the semiotic function of bells, for all that they marked time, danger, and season, was primarily to convey the holy. In some ways, recent work has concentrated more on the acoustic spaces of the sacred than on the actual sounds of the various ritual moments that took place inside them.

5 Integrating Iberia

In other disciplines, as well, understanding the Iberian world as a central part of Catholic culture has not always been easy: the role of north Italian artists at Philip II's court has not been fully explicated, while only recently have scholars addressed the Cretan and Italian background to El Greco's success in Toledo.³² Working the other way, beyond the studies of Spanish Rome and Naples, the precise influence of such Iberian devotional writers as Luis de Granada, whose 297 editions swamped Italy from 1561 to 1600, also needs further documentation.

Around the time of Trent, apart from the 'Palestrina as savior of polyphony' story, familiar from Agostino Agazzari onwards, there was another narrative available, evidently first recounted by the Jesuit and anti-Sarpi polemicist Sforza Pallavicino, in his 1656 counter-history of Trent, which re-emphasized the Council deliberations, and not their Roman implementation: 'it was attempted to banish music from liturgy altogether; but the majority, especially the Spanish, praised it, used by the Church from antiquity onwards, as an appropriate means to infuse souls sweetly with the senses of devotion, as long as the character of the piece and the meaning of the words were devout'.³³

Here it is the Spanish court that saved polyphony at the Council. This evident centrality of the senior House of Austria for sacred music is obscured by the loss of much court repertory, which makes comparisons harder. Even given the gaps in archival holdings, the collecting of polyphony by one of Catholicism's most important cathedrals has also been reconstructed.³⁴

³¹ Rocca Angelo, *De campanis commentarium* (Rome, G. Facciotti: 1612).

³² E.g., Casper A.R., *Art and the Religious Image in El Greco's Italy* (University Park, PA: 2014).

³³ Pallavicino Sforza, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, 3 vols. (Rome, Angelo Bernabò dal Verme: 1664) II, 145.

³⁴ Ruiz Jiménez J., *La librería de canto de órgano: creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la catedral de Sevilla* (Seville: 2007).

Still, there is need for a view which allows for both the political and cultural centrality of Spain as well as the peculiarities of its systems of musical production, with its outside import of musicians evidently only to the Royal Chapel, and its seemingly different system of cathedral training and selection. Habsburg connections for polyphony seem to have reached not only southern Italy, but also the Spanish Netherlands and across the Iberian/Austrian divide in the dynasty. For instance, some forthcoming work traces the musical links between the Empire in the 1570s and its Spanish courtiers.³⁵ Rather than framing these as 'national' issues, the similarities in Imperial culture East and West deserve further attention.

One case in which there was an evident effort to circulate music beyond Spain was the publishing career of Guerrero, almost the only composer to have had first editions appear in five different political situations (Lasso's count was six).³⁶ Still, it is not clear how much of this ever entered central European repertoires; the 1665 list of the Innsbruck court chapel, a voluminous source, has nothing by Guerrero. But the diffusion of the composer's works throughout the post-1580 Iberian world (including the Portuguese-Spanish colonies) had no match on any other scale.

6 Devotion, Liturgy, Music: Two Moments

Two relatively short periods can emblemize the issues of the sixteenth century. One span, 1538–1546, marked the emergence of Venetian print production for music, but also a Roman ecclesiastical stabilization, the first moves towards the Interim in the Empire, and Charles v's concentration on Spain after abandoning North Africa. In Spain and Italy, it was also marked by diverse devotional currents. Another roughly equal period a generation later, 1568–1576, witnessed the issue (if not universal acceptance) of the new liturgical books (notably by the Spanish court); the victories (not least the Battle of Lepanto in 1571) and defeats of Pius v's reign leading up to the Jubilee Year of 1575; and the absolute height of French confessional strife. devotionally, however, it was quite a different moment, as the wave of Granada's editions suggests.

35 Escrivà Llorca F. – Honisch E.S. – Knighton T., "On the Trail of a Knight of Santiago: Collecting Music and Mapping Knowledge in Renaissance Europe" (forthcoming).

36 The massive study of González Barrionuevo H., *Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599): vida y obra: la música en la Catedral de Sevilla a finales del siglo XVI* (Seville: 2000) is the basis for any study of the composer.

A survey of Italian devotional imprints of 1538 and 1546 reveals a mixed picture: the late medieval Rhineland figures, the continuing influence of Bonaventure, but also a reprint of Malipiero's Petrarch rewriting and the poetry of Vittoria Colonna.³⁷ In the 1540s, the first flurry of literature around the Council's opening seems addressed to the clerical elite more than to any wider audience.

Among music prints, though, this short span was the moment of extraordinary motet collections (produced first by the Gardano house in 1538, who then seem to have ceded to the Scotto firm), beginning with Gombert and Willaert but ending with the anthology marketed as Rore's first book, whose items by Jachet and Willaert linked the new style with rhetorically more familiar works. Strictly liturgical music was represented largely by Masses, but the thematics of the more numerous motets included penitential and personalized texts (these essentially *orationes ante communionem*, hinting at possible use during the Elevation at Mass).³⁸ Marian texts were more present among Venetian figures, but never represented the majority of any given print. As in the madrigal repertory—even if the print aftereffects would not be similar—the issuing of Rore's (with works by others) first book in 1544 seems to have marked a shift in rhetoric and aesthetics. Even without direct mapping of the devotional and motet repertoires, the pluralism of both is still striking.

By 1568, the devotional landscape had changed notably. To whatever degree painting's *maniera* might not have been suitable for representing the sacred by 1560, still important centers produced images in this style, and the actual local implementation of conciliar ideas (not decrees) is no clearer for images than

³⁷ Why Colonna's poems would have to wait a generation for musical settings (both the moralizing texts set in Niccolò Dorati's *Le stanze* [Venice, Scotto: 1570] and the explicitly devotional sonnets set by Pietro Vinci and by Philippe de Monte in the early 1580s) is outside the scope of this essay. See Filippi D.V., "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies: Philippe de Monte's First Book of Spiritual Madrigals (1581)", *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3, 2 (2011) 208–234 and Piéjus A. "Musical Settings of the 'Rime'", in Brundin A. – Crivelli T. – Sapegno M.S. (eds.), *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna* (Leiden: 2016) 314–345.

³⁸ Among Scotto's prints of 1539–1540, Gombert's Book I a 4 included some seven penitential texts, and this ratio (seven of 23) is fairly typical. In Rore's 1545 Book I, there are some eight (out of 19). The proportion in Gardano's *Motetti del fiore* of 1538, the first motet book by the firm, is similar (seven of 17), while the larger-scale prints for six voices (e.g., the 1539 volume of the same name, or Willaert's Book II a 6 of 1542) feature far more Marian texts. The presence of pieces for lesser-known saints in many prints of the 1540s (e.g., Morales's of 1546, or also Scotto's equal-voice series) raises questions of local devotion and sanctoral prestige too wide for this essay.

for music.³⁹ In addition to the continuing presence of the standard medieval mystics, the new literature around 1570 focused on a different kind of individual relationship to Christ.⁴⁰

One striking feature in music printing was the passage of sacred works from Scotto to the Gardano house (along with the temporary cessation of Roman firms after 1569). Here, the numbers also show the greatly increased number of liturgical prints (Mass, Vespers, Holy Week) compared to the previous generation. The Gardano firm's motet output included a massive Lasso series in 1566–1569, followed by large collections from Guerrero, Corteccia, Palestrina, and Victoria.

In the 1570s, we might trace a combination of liturgy, print, and musical technique.⁴¹ Certainly the fixing of liturgical texts in Rome led to such bursts of production as Palestrina's hymns and Holy Week music (music for the Office which had not been cultivated up to this point in Rome), evidently in part for the Cappella Giulia, in a manuscript now preserved at S. Giovanni in Laterano (Rome, Archivio musicale della Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano, ms. 59). The adaptation of the Roman texts by the courts in Madrid (the 'nuevo rezado') and Munich—but notably not by Prague—had European implications, although some local centers resisted well into the new century. On the one hand, this led to a series of prints which set the new verses of the Introits and Alleluias—works by Falconio, and Ippolito Chamaterò, the latter recently returned from Rome to Udine. Relatively few printed editions actually mention Trent on their title pages, and two of Chamaterò's fall into this category. On the other hand, chant was the fundamental experience of every Catholic, and a new facsimile of the 1572 Giunta *Graduale* shows that, even for the liturgically added items, tradition far outweighed innovation.⁴² For chant, the 1570s represented a moment of continuity, not rupture.

Where the change does come, however, was recognized as far back as Giambattista Martini, who noted Falconio's isolation of a Gregorian *cantus*

³⁹ The observation is from Hall M.B., *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio* (New Haven: 2011), at 92; given the success of figures like Tibaldi and G.P. Lomazzo in Lombardy (and Spain) in the century's last third, perhaps this idea could be at least geographically qualified.

⁴⁰ For 1576, *Editi16* (Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo, <http://editi16.iccu.sbn.it/>) reveals some nineteen Italian editions of Granada, along with the plague literature, works by Gaspar de Loarte, and other new writers (by contrast, there was one edition of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, in Latin).

⁴¹ Another case of cultural circulation via motets around this time, north of the Alps, is found in Van Orden K., *Materialities: Books, Readers and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: 2015), at 132–166.

⁴² Gozzi M. (ed.), *Il Graduale Giunta, Venezia 1572* (Lucca: 2013).

firmus as an example of *contrappunto ad videndum*, i.e., written and not performative creation.⁴³ Falconio's volume, as noted according to the new Roman Missal, was issued in the highly expensive score format, and dedicated to Cardinal Giulio della Rovere (1535–1578), a figure who paradoxically combined reform with the prerogatives and traditions of his ducal family.⁴⁴ This compositional approach, probably aided by the lack of an oral performance tradition among the Cassinese, shows the growing importance of prescription, even if oral traditions would continue strong into the new century and beyond.

7 Returning to the Disciplines

For colleagues in other fields, musicology's (justified) concern with musical procedures can be daunting. Some bases of dialogue, then, might be around issues mentioned above: decorum, reception, daily practice (not least among the orders), and the power of oral tradition, this last perhaps best studied in Italy and Spain. Above all, the currents of devotion, Biblical exegesis, and changing ritual life underpinned a good deal of both daily and 'high' culture.

In addition, the intellectual cast of other fields is by no means monolithic, ranging as it has in history from 'social discipline' (this especially in German and some Italian scholarship), to a sort of Catholic neo-triumphalism, to the 'bottom-up' historiography mentioned above. In visual culture, the transition from *maniera* to the new, sensuous synthesis of a Federico Barocci still remains to be traced.⁴⁵ After a moment of intense engagement with Catholic practice 1550–1600, cultural and devotional, in English-language scholarship over the 1990s, and a partial retreat as early modern studies ceded ground in the academy thereafter, the moment seems ripe for renewed engagement around some of these issues: Early Modern Catholicism as heard, and as understood by its communities of belief.⁴⁶

43 Martini G., *Esemplare, o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto sopra il canto fermo*, 2 vols. (Bologna, Lelio della Volpe: 1774–1775) I, 57–62.

44 New information on their relationship is in Morucci V., "Cardinals' Patronage and the Era of Tridentine Reforms: Giulio Feltrò della Rovere as Protector of Sacred Music", *Journal of Musicology* 29, 3 (2012) 262–291.

45 The fascinating ideas of Lingo S., *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven: 2008) 268–281, on the convergence of pictorial and musical approaches in sacred representation concern repertoires and ideas slightly later than the focus of this chapter.

46 Crudely, a check of WorldCat (<http://www.worldcat.org> [accessed: 11 June 2016]) with the title search term 'Counter-Reformation' yields some 506 books published between 1991 and 2000 against 345 in the 2001–2010 span. This reveals both the growing heuristic

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distaste for this specific term (with all of its many problems), but also something of a distancing from the study of the early modern sacred. Still, it is striking that Craig A. Monson's fundamental article on the actual musical discussions at Trent and the decrees ("The Council of Trent Revisited", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, 1 [2002] 1–37), a revision of all the earlier historiography, has been online (as of March 2016) one of the twenty most-accessed articles of the flagship journal in which it appeared.

PART 2

Perspectives

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Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy

Marco Gozzi

Our knowledge of liturgical music in early modern Italy, or for that matter early modern Europe, is based on images and assumptions that are not reflected in historical reality. The term ‘Gregorian chant’, for example, used today in official church documents, evokes an image very different from the one it evoked five hundred years ago. The first key distinction is that chant no longer survives in its natural context within the liturgy; today we hear it primarily in concerts or through recordings. The second is that the prevailing modern style of singing Gregorian chant—ethereal and performed only by adult males—was invented about a hundred years ago; it has nothing to do with the chant of either the ninth century or that of the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries.

In early modern Italy, plainchant was something different. In many instances, the boys of cathedral or monastic schools formed a choir that sang along with a few adults, thus commingling shrill young voices with those of adults. In almost all the cathedrals of Europe, Gregorian chant, which today we think of as monodic, was accompanied by a second voice, sung by a ‘biscantinus’ or by a group of singers. In Italy this widespread practice, well documented from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, was called ‘biscantare’, ‘discantare’, or ‘organizare’; in Latin, ‘secundare’ or ‘succinere’.¹ Gregorian chant in the sixteenth century had a different sound and rhythm from that of the modern style of singing, and was often sung in simple polyphony. (We will consider the issue of rhythm below.) Yet Gregorian chant in its essence is not music at all; its primary essence is prayer rather than music. The sound, the rhythm, and all things pertaining to music are accidents with respect to the substance of the experience.

The audio examples marked by the icon  in this chapter can be accessed via this link: <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5311099>.

¹ See Cattin G., “‘Secundare’ e ‘succinere’: Polifonia a Padova e Pistoia nel Duecento”, *Musica e storia* 3 (1995) 41–120. On simple polyphony see: Corsi C. – Petrobelli P. (eds.), *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa* (Rome: 1989); Cattin G. – Gallo F.A. (eds.), *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, Quaderni di Musica e storia 3 (Venice – Bologna: 2002); Facchini F. (ed.), *Polifonie semplici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Arezzo, 28–30 dicembre 2001* (Arezzo: 2003).

We must not, however, romanticize the story by believing that during the sixteenth century chant and polyphony were performed everywhere with excellence. Provincial synods, both before and after the Council of Trent, emphasize the importance of the careful conduct of the Divine Office, and show concern with the maintenance of proper liturgical decorum.

Such concern is evident in, to take but one typical example, the decrees of the General Synod in 1336 in Trent, established by Bishop Henry III from Metz:²

Preterea ordinamus et volumus ut per eos Divinum Officium oneste solemniter et devote omni cessante confabulatione vel risu tractim distincte et intellegibiliter cum cantu et nota, aut submissa voce ut convenit in prefata Ecclesia cotidie peragatur, nec ulla interim fiat altercacio inter eos.

In addition, we command and desire that the Divine Office be conducted daily in the said church with dignity, solemnity, and devotion, without any chatting or laughter, in a distinct and intelligible way, with chant (and reading the notes), or in a low voice, as is proper, and meanwhile let there be no quarrel between the officiants.

It is undeniable that, during typical performances of the rites in European churches, the conduct of singers and schoolchildren was not always flawless, and that the performance of the Divine Service was often marred by such distractions as chattering, giggling, and even fighting among the officiants.

The Council of Trent's main statement on music³ was not so much concerned with the type of music suitable for the liturgy; rather it specifically took

² Document in Trent, Archivio di Stato, Capsa 56, no. 51. Modern edition in Bonelli B., *Notizie istorico-critiche intorno al b. m. Adelpreto vescovo di Trento* (Trent, Monauni: 1761–1762) II, 675–698. Other pieces of evidence are collected in Fellerer K.G. – Hadas M., “Church Music and the Council of Trent”, *The Musical Quarterly* 39, 4 (1953) 576–594. Many synodal texts are in Mansi Giovanni Domenico, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 53 vols. (see <http://patristica.net/mansi>).

³ *Sessio xxii. Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missae* [17 September 1562]: ‘Decernit sancta Synodus ut Ordinarii locorum Episcopi ea omnia prohibere [...] ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo, sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur, item saeculares omnes actiones, vana atque adeo profana colloquia, deambulationes, strepitus, clamores arceant, ut domus Dei, vere domus orationis esse videatur, ac dici possit’ (Decree concerning things to be observed and avoided in the celebration of Mass. They shall also banish from the churches all such music, whether by the organ or in the singing, that contains things lascivious or impure; likewise all worldly conduct, vain and profane conversations,

into consideration the correct attitude of the singers. This focus was clearly articulated by Bishop Hieronymus Ragasanus (i.e., Girolamo Ragazzoni) in the address he made at the conclusion of Session xxv:

Ita, Patres amplissimi, omnem superstitionem, omnem questum, omnem (ut dicunt) irreverentiam a divina Missarum celebratione abstulitis. Moliores cantus, symphonias, deambulationes, colloquia, negotiationes a templo Domini submovistis.

Therefore, illustrious Fathers, you have eliminated from the divine celebration of the Mass every superstition, every lucrative activity, and every form of irreverence (as they say). You abolished from the temple of the Lord the singing of lascivious songs and symphonies, the strolling about, the conversations, and the business negotiations.

There are many documents that testify to the singers' lack of discipline during the liturgy. In 1482 a contract for singers at the church of S. Giovanni in Florence ruled that they should not 'make a scandal or noise either by speaking or by laughing, under penalty of two *soldi* for each offense, and for every time'.⁴ Another aspect concerns the musical competence of singers. We find, for example, that in the sixteenth century the most famous liturgical choir in the world—that of the Sistine Chapel—was not up to the task, and that many of its members owed their selection and presence in the choir to connections with powerful individuals. If we read the reports on the deliberations of the committee that worked in Rome after the Council, made known and published by Sherr in 1994,⁵ we see how many singers of the Sistine Chapel were disabled, old, or had very weak voices [Table 3.1].

We also have many testimonies dealing with the moral failings of the liturgical singers. The opinion of Erasmus of Rotterdam on professional musicians as a class, for example, is far from complimentary. Unlike Luther, who had 'the highest regard for the erudition of musicians',⁶ Erasmus found most of them

wandering around, noise and clamor, so that the house of God may be seen to be and may be truly called a house of prayer'). See Schaefer E.E., *Catholic Music through the Ages: Balancing the Needs of a Worshipping Church* (Chicago: 2008) 84.

⁴ See D'Accone F.A., "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14, 3 (1961) 307–358, at 333.

⁵ Sherr R., "Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina", *Early Music* 22, 4 (1994) 606–629. See p. 617 for the information reproduced in Table 3.1.

⁶ Buszin W.E., "Luther on Music", *The Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946) 80–97, at 91.

TABLE 3.1 *Remarks on the abilities of certain singers (1573). Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. XI, xciiii, fols. 152r–152v*

Li cantori infrascritti sono a chi si potrebbe dare ricompensa per havere qualche diffetto nella voce, et in cambio loro rimettere alla giornata degli altri, che non habbiano voce aspra o rauca ne disona, ma canora, suave, et chiara.

Vincentius Vimercatus. Questo fa tenore, et entrò in collegio de cantori col Motu proprio nel tempo del pontificato di Paulo III. Ha una voce senz'anima che non fa effetto nissuno; si dice ch'è fatto spenditore del collegio Germanico et è Mastro di casa del Cardinal Chiesa et che va cercando di esser esente i giorni feriale dell'ufficio della capella.

Augustinus Martini. Questo fa contralto, et è familiare del Cardinal Sermoneta, più volte si è provato per entrare in capella ma non ha potuto non perche non fusse valent'huomo in musica et persona molto da bene, ma perche non havea buona voce per contralto; l'anno passato fu data comissione che si pigliasse, et così fu pigliato.

Antonius Vimercatus. Questo fa tenore, et ha una cattiva voce, entrò ancora lui l'anno passato con molti favori, et fu ricevuto da cantori si, et in quantum, senza che fusse passato secondo la forma delle constitutioni.

The singers listed below could be given pensions because of various defects in their voices, and in exchange get others whose voices are not harsh or hoarse or dissonant, but sonorous, sweet and clear.

Vincenzo Vimercato. This one is a tenor, and entered the College of Singers with a *motu proprio* in the pontificate of Paul III. His voice is without substance and makes no impression whatsoever. It is said that he has become the bursar of the German College and the major domo of Cardinal Chiesa, and that he is trying to be absent on ferial days in the chapel.

Agostino Martini. This one is an alto, and is in the household of Cardinal Sermoneta. He tried many times to enter the chapel, but was not able to, not because he was not a good musician and a very worthy person, but because he did not have a good alto voice. Last year it was ordered that he be admitted, and he was.

Antonio Vimercato. This one is a tenor and has a terrible voice. He also entered last year with many favours and was accepted by the singers without having been judged according to the rules of the constitutions.

Petrus Bartholomucius et Agnellus de Antignano. Questi fanno soprano et hanno la voce più presto rauca et disona che altrimenti, ma sono molto utili per esser sacerdoti, et sempre uno di loro ordina il choro, et sono de vecchi che stiano in capella.

Joannes Paredes. Questo è castrato et fu preso per necessità de soprani, non ha molto buona voce, si può però tenere fin che compariscano buoni soprani di Spagna, et darli di poi buona ricompensa, che è giovane molto da bene et non ha cosa alcuna.

Hippolitus Gambotius. Questo fa contralto et è entrato secondo la forma delle constitutioni del collegio, ma in vero non ha molto buona voce et più presto disona che altrimenti.

Pietro Bartolomuccio and Agnello Antignano. These are sopranos and have voices that are more hoarse and dissonant than not, but they are very useful because they are priests, and one of them always orders the choir and they are among the senior singers in the chapel.

Juan Paredes. This one is a castrato and was taken because there was a need for sopranos. He does not have a very good voice, but he can be kept on until good sopranos arrive from Spain; and he should then be given a good pension because he is a worthy young man and doesn't have anything.

Ippolito Gambuccio. This one is an alto and entered according to the rules of the constitutions of the college, but he does not have a very good voice and is more dissonant than not.

wanting in both their learning and education and their morals. He states that 'the best years of adolescents are ruined when they are educated among the *Dionysiaci*, for on reaching maturity they are good for nothing but singing and drinking'. Moreover, such musicians are an unnecessary expense to the Church, and sometimes during services 'they converse together in the impudent manner of singers'.⁷

⁷ Miller C.A., "Erasmus on Music", *The Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966) 332–349, at 344. The most well-known passage of Erasmus on liturgical music, however, is this: 'We have introduced an artificial and theatrical music into the church, a bawling and an agitation of various voices, such as I believe had never been heard in the theatres of the Greeks and Romans. Horns, trumpets, pipes vie and sound along constantly with the voices. Amorous and lascivious melodies are heard such as elsewhere accompany only the dances of courtesans and

To understand what was actually the problem for sacred music of the sixteenth century, I present an illuminating and neglected example, quoted by Lewis Lockwood,⁸ that emphasizes that Cardinal Giovanni Morone (papal legate at the Council from 1563) when he was bishop of Modena had actually abolished sacred polyphony in the Duomo of Modena in favor of plainsong for a short period in late 1537 and early 1538. We are informed about this in an extraordinary contemporary account by the local chronicler Tommaso Lancellotti, dated 10 February 1583:

El reverendissimo monsignor vescovo de Modena messer Zohane Moron ha ordenato che in el duomo non se ge cantasse canto figurato, ma canto firmo, perché li preti stavano ociosi e zanzaravano mentre li cantori cantavano.

The Reverend Lord Bishop of Modena, don Giovanni Morone, ordered that in the cathedral polyphony will not be sung, but instead plainchant, because the priests were indolent and chatted while the singers sang.

Evidently, the reason the bishop prohibited polyphony was 'because the priests *stavano oziosi* [were indolent, idle] and *zanzaravano* [chatted annoyingly, *zanzarare* meaning to whisper in an irritating fashion, like a mosquito] while the singers sang'. The issue here concerns neither the music, nor the performance or behavior of the singers, nor anything related to the liturgy; it is solely a matter of the self-discipline of the priests. And to correct the excesses of the canons, the bishop chooses to abolish polyphony rather than sanction the behavior of the members of the chapter (which was obviously useless). The chapter's response was swift: some canons loved music, and with the singers of polyphony removed, they dealt with it themselves by their own efforts:

E per stimolo de alcuni Canonici che sano cantare hano tornato suxo quello biscantare, de modo che hano fatto contra la voglia del suo superiore e di molti cittadini, perché quando cantavano canto fermo ogni homo intendeva e cantava in core suo con li preti [...] de modo che sono

clowns. The people run into the churches as if they were theatres, for the sake of the sensuous charm of the ear': see Leichtentritt H., "The Reform of Trent and Its Effect on Music", *The Musical Quarterly* 30 (1944) 319–328, at 319.

⁸ Lockwood L., "Some Observations on the Commission of Cardinals and the Reform of Sacred Music (1565)", *Quadrivium* 6 (1966) 39–55.

a fastidio a le persone [...] e dico che queste [il cantare a più voci] sono de le superfluità inutile.

And at the initiative of some Canons who can sing, they began again to *biscantare* [i.e., to sing simple polyphony], and by doing so they acted against the will of their superior and that of many citizens, since when they sang plainchant everyone listened, understood, and sang with the priests in his heart [...] so that they annoy the people [...] and I say that this [the singing in polyphony] is a useless superfluity.

The Canons 'hanno tornato suxo quello biscantare', that is, they resumed the old practice of singing in two voices. I think that here the author is referring to the movements of the *Ordinarium Missae*, i.e., the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, not to the Mass Proper. This was a very common practice in all the cathedrals, monasteries, and convents of Europe since ancient times (we are aware of the existence of *paraphonisti* in Rome from the seventh century onward), and through this episode we learn that in Modena it lasted without interruption until the first decades of the sixteenth century. A recording of the Credo *Cardinalis* from ms. F9 of the Fabbriceria del Duomo di Parma (end of the fifteenth century) illustrates this kind of song.

The Credo *Cardinalis*, a melody with proportional rhythm, was created in the early years of the fourteenth century, probably in southern France, and is designated in modern liturgical books as 'Credo iv'. In the *Graduale Triplex* the original rhythm of the Credo is not preserved,⁹ while it can be found in many Italian Graduals from 1300 to 1800. Since the Credo *Cardinalis* was sung for all the major feasts of the year, its basic melody and its idiosyncratic rhythm were widely known throughout medieval and early modern Europe. The melody is normally the only one written in liturgical books, but in each local setting the Credo was sung by adding a second voice, always different, depending on the place and the time. We know, for instance, a fourteenth-century version from the Cathedral of Parma, which is completely different from the fifteenth-century one referred to above. The basic voice is the same, but the second voice is completely different. Example 3.1 gives the two Parma versions in synoptic edition.¹⁰



⁹ See Gozzi M., "Alle origini del canto fratto: il 'Credo Cardinalis'", *Musica e storia* 14 (2006) 245–302.

¹⁰ When a chant or a *cantus fractus* was *secundatus*, that is, accompanied by a second voice, some accidental inflections were implied, as a matter of convention. On the so-called *musica ficta* see, for example, Berger K., "Musica Ficta", in Brown H.M. – Sadie S. (eds.), *Performance Practice: Music before 1600* (New York – London: 1989) 107–125.

$\sigma = 72$

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem

cae - li et ter - - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in -
cae - li et ter - - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in -

vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - -
vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - -

stum Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre
stum Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre

na - tum an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu - men de
na - tum an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu - men de

lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - - ro. Ge - ni - tum non
lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - - ro. Ge - ni - tum non

EXAMPLE 3.1 *Excerpts from two versions of the Credo Cardinalis in simple polyphony, from Parma, Fabbriceria della Cattedrale, ms. F9 (version a on this page from the beginning of the ms., fols. A-D; version b on the following page from the final fols.).*

D=72

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fac - to -
cae - li et ter - - - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in -
rem cae - li et ter - - - rae, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in -
vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - - -
vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - - -
stum Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre
stum - Fi - li - um De - i u - ni - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre na -
na - tum an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu - men de
tum an - te om - ni - a sae - cu - la. De - um de De - o, lu - men de
lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum non
lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum non

EXAMPLE 3.1 (*Cont.*)

During this period, the Credo was always solemn in the Italian liturgical tradition; it featured mensural notation and was often sung in two voices. The practice spread and many other intonations of the new measured Credo were added to the *Cardinalis*, among them the *Credo Apostolorum*, which was also called *Credo Regis* or *Regis Siciliae* on account of its having been composed by the king of Sicily, Robert of Anjou. These are the prototypes of the real *cantus fractus*,¹¹ that is, a plainchant written and performed mensurally; it is a repertoire that continued to grow from the fourteenth century.¹² The Italian situa-

¹¹ Gozzi M., "I prototipi del canto fratto: Credo regis e Credo cardinalis", in idem (ed.), *Cantus fractus italiano: un'antologia* (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: 2012) 137–154.

¹² Essential bibliography on *cantus fractus* in Italy: Lovato A., "Teoria e didattica del canto piano", in Gozzi M. – Curti D. (eds.), *Musica e Liturgia nella Riforma tridentina* (Trent: 1995) 57–67; idem, "Cantus binatum e canto fratto", in Della Vecchia P. – Restani D. (eds.), *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica: studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo* (Rome: 1996) 73–95; idem, "Canto fratto e polifonie semplici nella tradizione liturgica della Basilica di San Marco", in Passadore F. – Rossi F. (eds.), *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 5–7 settembre 1994* (Venice: 1998) 85–102; idem, "Aspetti ritmici del canto piano nei trattati dei secoli XVI–XVII", in Cattin G. – Curti D. – Gozzi M. (eds.), *Il canto piano nell'era della stampa: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi sul canto liturgico nei secoli XV–XVIII* (Trent: 1999) 99–114; Andreotti A., "Il canto piano misurato nei trattati dei secoli XIV–XV", *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 15–16 (1999–2000) 243–283; Torelli D., "Il canto piano nell'ecdotica della musica sacra tra Rinascimento e Barocco", in Campagnolo S. (ed.), *Problemi e metodi della filologia musicale: Tre tavole rotonde* (Lucca: 2000) 107–119; idem, "La prassi del canto piano e del canto fratto nel Duomo di Firenze", in Gargiulo P. – Giacomelli G. – Gianturco C. (eds.), *'Cantate Domino': musica nei secoli per il Duomo di Firenze* (Florence: 2001); Gozzi M., "Neglected Repertoires of Liturgical Chant", *Polifonie* 2 (2002) 151–174; idem, "Il canto fratto nei libri liturgici del Quattrocento e del primo Cinquecento: l'area trentina", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 38 (2003) 3–40; idem – Milanese G. (eds.), *Canto liturgico monodico e polifonie semplici: un'antologia* (Arezzo: 2004); Gozzi M. – Luisi F. (eds.), *Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma – Arezzo, 3–6 dicembre 2003* (Rome: 2005); Gabrielli G., *Il canto fratto nei manoscritti della Fondazione Biblioteca S. Bernardino di Trento* (Trent: 2005); Gozzi M., "Canto gregoriano e canto fratto", ibid. 17–47; Baroffio G. – Manganelli M. (eds.), *Il Canto Fratto: un repertorio da conservare e da studiare: Atti dei convegni tenuti a Radda in Chianti dal 1999 al 2004* (Radda in Chianti: 2005); some papers also at <http://www.cantofratto.net>; Gozzi, *Alle origini del canto fratto*; Gozzi M., "Liturgia e musica mensurale nel Trecento italiano: i canti dell'*Ordinarium*", in Huck O. et al. (eds.), *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento: Bericht über die Tagung in Jena vom 1.-3. Juli 2005* (Hildesheim: 2007) 53–99; Andreotti A., "Il canto piano misurato in trattati dei secoli XVI–XVII", in Dessì P. – Lovato A. (eds.), *De ignoto cantu: Atti dei seminari di studio Fonte Avellana 2000–2002* (San Pietro in Cariano: 2009) 197–222; Gozzi, *Cantus fractus italiano: un'antologia*; idem, "Lo

tion is one of the best investigated, but such other areas as Spain are also rich in examples, particularly in the hymn and sequence genres.

To return to the canons of Modena, one observes that the chronicler Tommaso Lancellotti was an uncompromising critic when it came to music: he loved only the singing of monodic chant; yet the arguments he uses to justify his position are not sustainable. He writes: ‘when canons sang plainchant everyone listened, understood, and sang with the priests in their hearts’. There is here a distinct echo of the words of St. Paul in Colossians 3:16:

Verbum Christi habitat in vobis abundanter in omni sapientia docentes et commonentes vosmet ipsos psalmis hymnis canticis spiritalibus in gratia cantantes in cordibus vestris Deo.

Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.

There is also a clear reference to the well-known question of the intelligibility of the sacred text. This was dictated in the preparatory documents to Session XXII at Trent, but did not appear in official decrees: the request ‘ut verba ab omnibus percipi possint’ ('that words could be perceived by all'). However, the texts of the chants for the Mass Ordinary—Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei—were known to all, and simple note-against-note polyphony does not obscure the intelligibility of texts. Anyone could sing ‘in his heart’ with the priests, even with the amplification of plainchant enacted through a second voice.

If we are to consider performance practice in chant—as David Hiley argues¹³—we should really begin with the liturgy; it is, after all, the reason for the chant’s existence. Yet this statement is applicable to all liturgical music, polyphonic or instrumental. The reconstruction of the individual ritual contexts in these cases is essential. Certainly the Latin Catholic rite is highly formalized and complex, especially with regard to the Office. And it is not true

Stabat mater e il canto fratto: alcune testimonianze francescane”, *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 33 (2012) 359–399; idem, *La nuova immagine del canto cristiano liturgico: Elementi ritmici, polifonia semplice e contesti rituali nella storia del cosiddetto gregoriano*, in Pietschmann K. (ed.), *Papsttum und Kirchenmusik vom Mittelalter bis zu Benedikt XVI.: Positionen – Entwicklungen – Kontexte* (Kassel: 2012) 81–94; see also <http://www.cantusfractus.org>.

¹³ Hiley D., “Chant”, in *Performance Practice: Music before 1600* 37–54.

that with the promulgation of the Breviary and the Missal of Pius V (1568 and 1570 respectively) liturgical uniformity was reached across Europe, for the liturgy contained a multitude of details concerning ritual in the local churches and in the various religious orders. Some well-known manuals¹⁴ describe in detail the performance standards of the liturgical celebrations of the Roman Catholic rite (for the Mass—above all—the situation is quite stable over a very long timespan), but in reality there are ample exceptions even within the one Roman liturgy (let alone if we investigate in any depth the practices of individual religious orders and local churches).

Here I will examine only two examples, related to the city of Trent during the Council.¹⁵ Within the solemn Easter liturgy, in Trent, before the reading of the Gospel, that is, after the sequence, the hymn *Christ ist erstanden* was sung in German; its performance on 25 April 1546 is noted in the diary of the Secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, even if the piece is not explicitly mentioned: ‘et decantantur quaedam ante evangelium lingua vernacula Germanica, et cetera, prout in eorum ceremoniali’.¹⁶ German rule had not only a political influence but also some cultural influence within the territory. The song also occurred on other liturgical occasions with the participation of all the people, as is indicated in the rubrics of the *Antiphonale Pataviense* [Fig. 3.1]:¹⁷ after the dramatized text of the *Quem quaeritis*, which includes the second part of the sequence *Victimae paschali*, the rubric reads: ‘Deinde populus’ ('Then the people'), followed by the *incipit*, with musical notation, of *Christ ist erstanden*.¹⁸ Massarelli remembered that the same hymn was sung during the Easter lunch in the Castle of Cardinal Madruzzo.

¹⁴ Baldeschi G., *Esposizione delle sacre ceremonie*, 4 vols. (Rome: 1839), now available at http://books.google.it/books/download/Esposizione_delle_Sacre_Cerimonie_della.pdf; Fortescue A., *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (London: 1918), now available at <https://archive.org/details/ceremoniesofromaoofort>; O'Connell J.B., *The Celebration of Mass: A Study of the Rubrics of the Roman Missal* (London: 1956).

¹⁵ See Gozzi M., “Musikgeschichte der Region Trient bis 1600”, in Drexel K. – Fink M. (eds.), *Musikgeschichte Tirols: 1. Von den Anfängen bis zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Innsbruck: 2001) 467–594.

¹⁶ *Concilium Tridentinum diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio*, vol. 1, *Concili Tridenni diariorum pars prima: Herculis Severeoli commentarius, Angeli Massarelli diaira 1.–4.*, ed. S. Merkle (Freiburg: 1901) 540.

¹⁷ See *Antiphonale Pataviense* (Wien 1519): *Faksimile*, ed. K.H. Schlager, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 88 (Kassel: 1985), fol. 56r.

¹⁸ In the Ritual for the Diocese of Passau—a copy of which is preserved in Trent, Biblioteca comunale, INC 255 (G.i.c.82)—there is the same rubric at fol. xcvi: ‘Deinde incipiatur *Christ ist erstanden*’. The book is described in Gozzi M., “I manoscritti

[5 Aprilis 1545] Mos est apud Germanos, in aulis praesertim principum, dum ferculae ad mensam feruntur primae, cani ab omnibus familiaribus alta voce Agnum Dei paschale preeferentes lingua germanica: *Christ ist erstanden*, id est: Christus resurrexit. Facto prandio benigne a cardinali domum nostram dimissi sumus.

[5 April 1545] There is the custom among the Germans, especially in the halls of princes, that, while the first courses are served, all family members sing aloud the Easter Agnus Dei in German: *Christ ist erstanden*, i.e., Christ is risen. After lunch, we were graciously dismissed by the cardinal and went home.

Pasce

56

domini fedente vidim⁹ ⁊ dicente: quia surrexit ic̄hs.
urrebant duo simul: ⁊ ille alius disci puluis precu cur-
rit citius petro ⁊ venit prior ad monumentum al le luita.
et joan⁹
ne cum fidatio ermitis o soci ⁊ ecce lintheamina et su da-
ritum: et corpus nō est in sepulchro in uenit⁹.
bis maria quid vidisti in via. epulchrum christi v⁹
uēris: ⁊ gloriā vidi resurgētis.
gelicos testes: fidariū ⁊ vestes. ic nobis. urexit
christ⁹ spes mea: p̄cedet suos in galilea. redend⁹ est.

Pasce

56

dei de po cim⁹ christ⁹. pul⁹. Postea Tenebrae. In flurecte ma cor-
re alla. Celi e terra lo-
christ⁹ ist erstande. ten⁹ affazet laud. aii.

In gelus autē do mini descendit de celo: ⁊ acce dens⁹
reuoluit lapide: ⁊ sedebat sup eum alleluia alleluia. Euouae.
Et ecce terremor facies est magis: angelus autē domini
descendit de celo al le luita. Euouae. aii. Erat au tē aspe-
ctus eius sicut ful gur: vestimenta e ius candida sicut nix
al le luita. Euouae. aii. Breuatore autem e ius exterriti
sunt custodes: ⁊ faci sunt velud mortui al le luita. Euouae.
Espondens autem an gelus dicit multi cribus: nolite

FIGURE 3.1 The rubric and the musical incipit concerning Christ ist erstanden (at fol. 56r) in the Antiphonale Pataviense (Vienna, Johannes Winterburger: 1519), fol. 55v–56r.

liturgici quattrocenteschi con notazione della Biblioteca comunale di Trento", *Fonti Musicali Italiane* 3 (1998) 7–64, at 56.

Some peculiar customs of Trent (common to the Germanic world) are highlighted in the description of the first liturgical celebration of Easter in Trent, which Massarelli witnessed, on 5 April 1545:

Interea card. Tridentinus habitum pastoralem susceperebat, exivitque ex sacrario cum pluviali aureo, mitra episcopali, brachium s. Vigilii, civitatis Tridentinae protectoris, in manu deferens. Quem canonici et clerus sequuti sunt, deinde legati [...] Quo ordine processionaliter ecclesiam circumierunt clero cantante: *Salve festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo, qua Deus infernum fregit et astra tenet* etc. Ubi ad altare maius ventum est, missa incepta est [...] Celebrata est missa magna cum veneratione et solemnitate; pax legatis, oratori et episcopis data est, evangelium autem non nisi legati osculati sunt. Benedictionem pontificalem card. Tridentinus dedit, verum non post missam absolutam, ut alias dari solet, sed immediate post Pater noster ante Agnus Dei, quem morem antiquum episcoporum Germanorum aiunt; post celebrationem vero missae iterum non benedixit.

Meanwhile, the Cardinal of Trent had worn the pastoral vestment and left the sacristy with the golden cope and the episcopal miter, carrying in his hands the relic of the arm of St. Vigilius, protector of the city of Trent. He was followed by the canons, the clergy, and finally the papal legates [...] Keeping this order, the procession walked the perimeter of the church while the clergy sang [the hymn] *Salve festa dies*. When they reached the main altar the Mass began [...] The Mass was celebrated with great devotion and solemnity; the pax was given to the legates, to the ambassador and to the bishops, but only the papal legates kissed the gospel. The Cardinal of Trent gave the pontifical blessing, not when the Mass was finished, as it is usually done, but immediately after the Pater Noster and before the Agnus Dei. This is an ancient custom, they say, of the German bishops; in fact, after the celebration of Mass, the bishop did not give the blessing again.

A proper reconstruction of a sixteenth-century liturgical service will require consultation not only of sixteenth-century liturgical books, but also of iconography, chronicles, letters, diaries, and of payments to the singers for extraordinary performance, since such payments occasionally reveal details of liturgical practices that were not recorded in liturgical books. Unfortunately, no systematic scholarly investigation of the ‘*Libri Ordinarii*’ and local ‘*Caeremoniales*’ and the books of individual religious orders has yet been undertaken. These

are books that contain no music, but which shed some light on the function and use of the various liturgical chants. Since very ancient rites are often preserved for centuries in living liturgical practice, even late printed editions are valuable.

Having examined some questions concerning the liturgy, our discussion may move on to matters of musical technique, such as rhythm, for example, as well as improvised polyphonic elaboration, ornamentation, and so on. I will provide only a few examples regarding the issue of rhythm in chant with monodic transmission. Thanks to a widespread cultural myopia, scholars have neglected ‘late’ manuscripts and printed books of chant. It is often the case that cataloguers and scholars have not even noticed numerous mensural pieces or entire mensural sections in books using the so-called black square notation.¹⁹ The reality is that an edition or a liturgical manuscript of the period almost never transmits the rhythmic and performance nuances of pieces that everyone knew by heart. One can, however, derive useful information on the rhythm of some parts of the music (such as the hymns or the sequences) by turning to the manuscripts of polyphony.

Here I draw upon two examples from works by Guillaume Du Fay copied in fifteenth-century Italian sources. The first example [Fig. 3.2] concerns the first page of the codex Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.x.i.11, which opens with the Advent hymn *Conditor alme siderum*. As was often the case, the polyphonic setting should alternate with verses in Gregorian chant. Du Fay composed polyphony only for the even-numbered verses, and the scribe notated the verses in plainchant, as sometimes happened. The Italian scribe faithfully copied the notation of his exemplar, probably a French one, transcribing the odd-numbered verses too in mensural notation, with a clear succession of *longae* and *breves*. Of course, the *superius* of the even-numbered verses, in Du Fay’s polyphony, paraphrases the melody with a trochaic rhythm.

The second example concerns the Advent Marian sequence *Mittit ad virginem*, which I believe to be composed by Du Fay, as established by Charles Hamm.²⁰ It was copied into the manuscript Trent 92, fols. 69v–70v, where it



¹⁹ See Gozzi M., “Notazione quadrata e indicazioni ritmiche nei libri liturgici dei secoli XIV–XVIII”, in Scappaticci L. (ed.), ‘*Quod ore cantas corde credas*: Studi in onore di Giacomo Baroffio Dahnk’ (Vatican City: 2013) 463–494.

²⁰ Hamm C., *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay, Based on a Study of Mensural Practice* (Princeton: 1964) 78. Modern edition in Planchart A.E., “The Polyphonic Proses of Guillaume Du Fay”, in Filocamo G. – Bloxam M.J. – Holford-Strevens L. (eds.), ‘*Uno gentile et subtile ingenio*: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie Blackburn’ (Turnhout: 2009) 87–99.

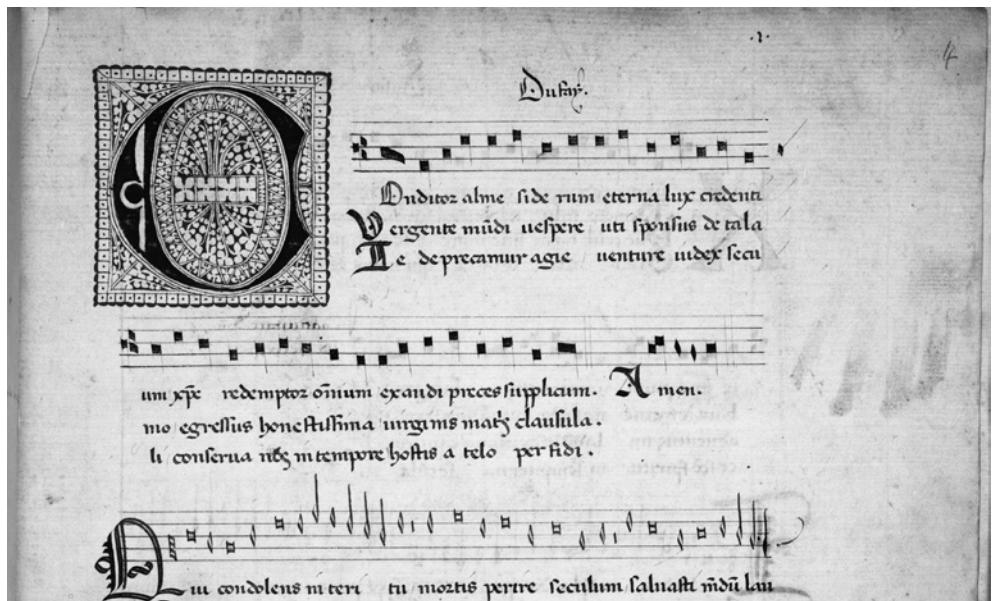


FIGURE 3.2 *The first page of Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms. a.x.i.ii (15th century), with the hymn Conditor alme siderum by Guillaume Du Fay.*

appears with the odd-numbered verses in plainchant, and the even-numbered verses in polyphony for three voices. Given the structure in *copulae* of the piece (AABBCC), it is possible to reconstruct the full version in *cantus fractus* in use at Cambrai during the fifteenth century that served as the basis for polyphonic elaboration.²¹

Both examples show a mensural practice applied to Gregorian melodies of versified text, a practice that rarely emerges in liturgical manuscripts and editions. The same treatment was most likely applied to the chant, even for prose texts, when it was amplified by a second voice, as Prosdocimus de Beldemandis explained in his *Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum Italicorum*, writing about the *modus organicus*:

Et quia de supradictis regulis [...] nulla ratio assignata est, ut ergo de ipsis habeatur aliqua ratio [...] sciendum est quod antiqui ante inventionem cantus mensurati quendam habebant modum cantandi in cantu piano

²¹ Gozzi M., "Le sequenze nei codici musicali trentini del Quattrocento e il loro rapporto con il canto piano: il caso di *Mittit ad Virginem*", in Addamiano A. – Luisi F. (eds.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra in occasione del Centenario di fondazione del PIMS, Roma, 26 maggio–1 giugno 2011*, 3 vols. (Vatican City: 2013) I, 461–469.

quem modum organicum appellabant, quoniam ipsum acceperant ab organorum pulsatione. Modus ergo iste erat quod non pronuntiabant omnes figuras cantus plani sub eodem valore sed aliquas elongabant et aliquas abbreviabant secundum ipsarum figurarum divisas dispositiones et secundum diversitatem ligaturarum cum caudis vel sine caudis et ab illis diversitatibus sumpsit originem cantus mensuratus.

Since we have given no reasons for the above rules governing ligatures [...] and that you may therefore have some such explanation [...] you should know that before the invention of [the art of notating] mensurable music, people of former times had a certain way of singing plainchant which they called the *modus organicus*, because they had derived it from the playing of the organ. The method consisted in not performing all the notes of the plainchant in the same rhythm, but lengthening some and shortening others, according to the different groupings of the notes and according to the difference in the ligatures, some having stems and others not. And from observing these distinctions, the notational system of mensural music had its origin.²²

In our quest to understand how the chant was actually sung in the sixteenth century from the point of view of rhythm, we are greatly aided by Giovanni Matteo Asola's *Canto Fermo sopra Messe, Himni, et altre cose ecclesiastiche, appartenenti à sonatori d'organo per giustamente rispondere al choro* (*Plainchant over Masses, hymns, and other ecclesiastical matters, intended for organists, so that they can respond correctly to the choir*), written in 1592, and reprinted several times.²³ Asola's manual is addressed to organists, not to singers, and reflects living liturgical practices. Figure 3.3 shows a facsimile of its title page and of the folio with the hymn *Veni creator Spiritus*, which is characterized by the presence of white mensural notation. The clear proportional rhythm of the hymn is unambiguously expressed. Certainly this manner of singing hymns is connected to the polyphonic verses that were sung in alternation.

In Figure 3.4 we see a page of the edition of hymns by Tomás Luis de Victoria (1581), which also gives the plainchant melody. The hymn *Veni creator Spiritus* is designed for the Solemnity of Pentecost, but it can be used any time

²² Translation from Dalglish W., "The Origin of the Hocket", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, 1 (1978) 3–20, at 12.

²³ See Torelli D., "Notazioni ritmiche e canto fratto nelle edizioni non liturgiche tra Cinque e Seicento", in Gozzi – Luisi, *Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano* 447–492, in particular 453–454 and 460–463.

CANTO FERMO

SOPRA MESSE, H I N N I.

ET ALTRE COSE ECCLESIASTICHE
Appartenenti à Sonatori d'Organo, per giustamente rispondere al CHORO,

Accommodato dal R. D. GIO. MATTEO
ASOLA VERONESE,
Nuovamente Ristampato, & Corretto.



IN VENETIA,

Appresso Giacomo Vincenti, M.D.XCVI.

FIGURE 3.3 Title page and the folio with the hymn *Veni creator Spiritus* in Giovanni Matteo Asola, *Canto Fermo sopra Messe, Himni, et altre cose ecclesiastiche* (Venice, Vincenti: 1592).

when there is the need to invoke the Spirit. In this way, the book of polyphony becomes a valuable contemporary account of liturgical chant, because it exposes a reality in a particular place and time. It is evident that the presence of the chant is a great help for study and comparison with contemporary Roman practice, yet given the wide dissemination of Victoria's book this presence was almost an annoyance for contemporary users. The singers who performed the *alternatim* chant of hymns at Vespers were not usually the same singers who performed the polyphony: it was the canons or the members of the monastic or collegiate choir who sang the chant, and they did not need to read the verses in the books, because they sang from memory and according to local traditions.

Even more interesting is the notation—in the Asola edition—of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, which shows extensive melismas. How was this hymn performed in the late sixteenth century? The *alternatim* polyphony was always



FIGURE 3.4 *Tomás Luis de Victoria, Hymni totius anni secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem (Rome, Domenico Basa: 1581) 12: hymn Veni creator Spiritus, tenor voice.*

sung in conformity with the living tradition of the church where the liturgical polyphony was hosted, and therefore it was never necessary to write down the plainchant, the reasons being that, first, the singers knew it by heart, and, second, the singers followed the melodic and rhythmic version known to them, not the one used by the composer as the basis of the voice paraphrasing the chant. On the other hand, if we wish to reconstruct and revive a historical practice as close as possible to the place and time in which the polyphonic stanzas of the hymn were first composed, in this case in Rome, in 1581, we can turn to contemporary sources. Victoria offers us—on a silver platter—the melody of the chant he used for composing polyphony, which nonetheless does not excuse us from looking around to see what was the actual practice in Rome and Italy at the time. Here we consider the following three sources:

- 1) *Psalterium secundum consuetudinem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, ex Breviario Romano ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini accommodatum, ut ex inversa pagina demonstratur* (Venice, Giunta: 1572).
- 2) Giovanni Guidetti, *Directorium chori ad usum sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae et aliarum cathedralium et collegiatarum ecclesiarum* (Rome, Granjon: 1582).
- 3) Giovanni Matteo Asola, *Canto fermo sopra Messe, Himni, et altre cose ecclesiastiche appartenenti à sonatori d'organo per giustamente rispondere al choro* (Venice, Vincenti: 1592).

Each of these publications serves a unique purpose and destination, and must therefore be considered in the context in which it was produced and used. The *Directorium chori* by Giovanni Guidetti, a student of Palestrina, whose first edition dates back to 1582, is a fundamental source for understanding the practice of liturgical chant in the Rome of Victoria. This is a publication addressed directly to *hebdomadarii* or *septimanarii* (the religious of a chapter or

quę differimodē designat p̄ totū Directoriu[m] reperitur. Nōc autē sunt hu[m]modi [neumes]. Hęc nota vocat Brevis, cui subiecta syllaba ita profertur, vt in canendo tempus vnum insumatur.

Hęc ♦ dicitur Semibrevis, & syllaba quę sub illam cadit, celerius est percurrenda, ita vt dimidium vnum temporis impētus datur.

Hęc altera ♦ quę est Brevis sub semicirculo, paulo tardius profertenda est, adeo vt in cantu tempus vnu, & dimidium insumatur.

Hęc ♦ quę similiter est Brevis, & intra semicirculum habet punctum, magis est protrahenda, ita vt fiat mora duorum temporum.

Denique quādō reperitur Brevis, & Semibrevis simul coniuncte sub eodem semicirculo, hoc modo tunc syllaba subiacēs leni quodā spiritus impulsu pronunciabitur, perinde ac si dupli scriberetur Vocali, vt Doominus, pro Domini, sed cum decore & gratia quę hic doceri non potest.

Illud postremo aduentum est, quod licet cantus, tam diei festivi & solemnis, quam̄ ferialis, iſdem nominis designatus in Directorio reperitur, tamen quod dies erit solemnier, ex maiori cum grāuitate, & dignitate in canendo vox sustentanda & moderanda est. Et hoc seruandum est, tam ab Hebdomadario & cantoribus, quam̄ a celebrantibus & alijs adiūtentibus, in omnibus que eis canenda occurunt.

Hęc sunt, Candidi Lector, que te breuiter premoneri opera p̄ tūm duximus. Tu quidquid hoc est nostri laboris, equi bonique consule, & Vale.

DOMINICA AD MATVTINVM.

Hebdomadarius ingressus Chorum, & residens in suo loco iurēis manibus dicit, Pater noster, & Secreto prosequitur totum, item Ave Maria, & Credo, quibus ablutiis dicit clara Voce. Domine labia mea, & Deus in adiutorium meum intende.

Et sic fit in omnibus Matutinis tam festiuis, quam̄ Ferialibus. Clara Voce.

O mīne la bi a mea a a pe ri es.

D e u s in adiūto riu m me um in tende.

Imitatorium sequens, dicitur ab Octaua Epiphanie, nūque ad Dominicam Septuagētiā & ad Ottā. Pent: usque ad Aduentum.

A do re mus do minum

qui fe cit nos Pial: v e mi

Inuitatorium.

FIGURE 3.5 Giovanni Guidetti, *Directorium chori ad usum sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae* (Rome, Robert Granjon: 1582), first page (facing the end of the Preface).

monastery appointed for the week to lead the celebration of the Mass and the Divine Office). It enjoyed extraordinary success as a publication and it tells us of a rigidly mensural practice of liturgical chant that no modern history of music has ever wanted to incorporate. Figure 3.5 shows the first page with the end of the preface and the signs used by Guidetti to indicate the respective durational values of the notes of the chant: the *brevis* (square), worth a tempus; the *semibrevis* (lozenge), worth half a tempus; the *brevis sub semicirculo* (under a half circle), that is one and a half time; another *brevis sub semicirculo*, but that ‘*intra semicirculum habet punctum*’ (i.e., the crowned *brevis*, we would say), which is worth two times; finally, the group of linked *brevis* and *semibrevis* (‘*Brevis et Semibrevis simul coniunctae sub eodem semicirculo*’) in which the vowel is repeated, but the precise mensural value of the two notes involved is not explained. Despite the enormous popularity of Guidetti’s manual, it seems that neither the semi-circles nor the crowns over the notes were ever adopted by others. Nevertheless, we observe Guidetti’s attempts to capture actual mensural practice through the use of a variety of notational symbols. In any case, the *Directorium chori* was a highly successful book that was reprinted many times. In all likelihood, Victoria, who exercised musical responsibilities in several Roman churches, became familiar with the *Directorium*.

So we may ask, as we consider the notation of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, how was the long melisma on the word *stella* sung? With notes of equal duration or isosyllabically? Guidetti’s *Directorium* shows only the first verse of the hymn with its five crowned *breves*. We have seen how the crown doubles the duration of the *brevis*. The notation may be rendered and sung as follows:

The image shows a musical score for a single voice. The staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (indicated by the number '8'). The melody consists of a series of eighth-note strokes. The lyrics are: "A - ve, ma - ris stel - - - - la." A bracket above the notes spans from the first note to the last, indicating a melisma. The note under the 'la' is a standard eighth note.

EXAMPLE 3.2 *Incipit of the hymn Ave maris stella, from Guidetti, Directorium chori.*

Guidetti emphasizes the notes in the melodic climax and highlights the penultimate note of the melisma. The version published by Asola offers a surprisingly similar reading.²⁴ We thus have evidence for a performance practice that differs from that implied by the equal values of the plainsong as notated in

²⁴ Transcription in Tibaldi R., “Inni nella trascrizione di G.M. Asola (1592)”, in Gozzi, *Cantus fractus italiano: un’antologia* 301–356, at 330–331.

Victoria's *Hymni totius anni* (Rome, Basa: 1581). It is obvious that in the case of an attempted reconstruction of a historical practice it is better to use the version produced by Asola. Let's listen.

Confirmation of the spreading practice of singing hymns with clear mensuration (shown in Asola's edition) may be found in Lodovico Viadana's *Ventiquattro Credo a canto fermo sopra i tuoni delli Hinni* (*Twenty-Four Credos in plainchant on the melodies of the hymns*) (Venice, Magni: 1619).²⁵ Now let's listen to the beginning of the Credo based on *Veni creator*.

The example features a polyphonic passage whose presence is validated by Viadana's statement allowing the 'Et incarnatus' in polyphony; indeed, he provides some brief verses in four voices for this.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *cantus fractus* spread through Europe, especially in the performance of the *Ordinarium Missae*, but also with such other genres as sequences and antiphons. They could be monodic (to be accompanied by the organ), or in two or even three voices. Franciscan convents are still full of this kind of material, but abundant traces of the traditions of other religious orders (the Dominicans, and even the Cistercians) are coming to light. The collections of Credos soon inspired the composition of whole cycles of the *Ordinarium in cantus fractus*, and not only for the Franciscans. The cycle was often composed 'around' the Credo; sometimes exploiting melodic material derived from hymns or melodies from famous Marian antiphons. While there are examples of this production in print, the trend was to design new liturgical books for each convent or monastery in order to establish a unique and unrepeatable repertoire for each community (even if with compositions partially shared with churches nearby, geographically or spiritually), so as to recognize the repertoire and the sound of each community's 'own' liturgical chants. Their use served to determine one's membership in the community.

Liturgical music tries to 'catch up', to be in step with the time, to delight as well as to help the faithful to pray. The results are not always artistically excellent or of sublime spiritual depth, but it would be wrong to consider all of this repertoire as decadent or spurious: rather, it is one of the many forms of liturgical chant that tradition has given us, at the very least worthy of being known and judged on its own merits. And not infrequently among these new compositions we can find fine examples of craftsmanship and attractive melodies.

The final listening selection is taken from an eighteenth-century manuscript preserved in the Library of the Franciscans of the Fondazione San Bernardino

²⁵ Collection discussed by Torelli D., "I Credo di Lodovico Viadana (1619)", in Gozzi, *Cantus fractus italiano: un'antologia* 383–398.

in Trent (ms. Sala 101, fols. 45–46).²⁶ This is an example of one of the many Kyriale books written in the Franciscan convents during the eighteenth century, containing Masses conceived in a simple and catchy style, delightful to sing and listen to, in a form with very few tonal modulations.

The need remains to study in depth these aspects of liturgical music in order to fully appreciate the performance context, in particular with regard to the copious production of liturgical music during the seventeenth century. It is therefore still difficult to clearly define even the boundaries of the vast repertoire known as *cantus fractus*. The term does not yet have an accepted and shared meaning: its features are not clearly described, and the literature on the subject has no manuals. *Cantus fractus* has always stood on the margins of musical thought, despite the fact that scholars have often dealt with this particular repertoire, widely used throughout Europe since the thirteenth century. There is no entry worthy of the name dedicated to *cantus fractus* in any dictionary or encyclopedia of music. *Cantus fractus* sheds light on a reality hitherto forgotten, but not unworthy of rediscovery and appreciation. Perhaps the time is ripe to return to the Catholic world these expressions of liturgical chant that for many years have inhabited the churches, the convents, and the monasteries of Europe, making the chant in Latin a living presence in the liturgies.

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26 See Gabrielli, *Il canto fratto nei manoscritti della Fondazione Biblioteca S. Bernardino*.

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Musical Dispatches from the Heavenly Jerusalem

Colleen Reardon

In its few verses, the poem *Heaven-Haven* by the Catholic convert and Jesuit priest Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–1889), presents the voice of a young aspirant to the convent and her reasons for choosing such a life:

I have desired to go
 Where springs not fail,
 To fields where flies no sharp and sided hail
 And a few lilies blow.

And I have asked to be
 Where no storms come,
 Where the green swell is in the havens dumb,
 And out of the swing of the sea.¹

This Victorian image of the nunnery as a calm port far from the storms of life and as a space of silence is a potent one that persists to this day and, to be sure, it is one that often reflects the rules adopted by religious orders.² As any student of early modern nuns knows, however, the convent was often a place full of raised voices: some in prayer, some in recitation, some in conversation, and some in song.

The presence of talented women musicians in Italian nunneries of the seventeenth century was certainly no secret to contemporary English tourists, even if they sometimes mistook conservatories for nunneries.³ Serious and sustained research on nuns and music, however, began in earnest only in the 1990s, with the publication of Craig A. Monson's book on S. Cristina in

¹ *The Poetical Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. N.H. MacKenzie (Oxford: 1990) 29–30.

² See, for example, Sbardella F., “Inhabited Silence: Sound Construction of Monastic Spatiality”, *Etnográfica* 17, 3 (2013) 515–534, <http://etnografica.revues.org/3227?lang=en>.

³ This is the case with Robert Bargrave; see *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave, Levant Merchant (1647–1656)*, ed. M.G. Brennan (London: 1999) 37, and the passage in Radcliffe Ann, *The Italian or The Confessional of the Black Penitents*, ed. F. Garber (Oxford – New York: 1981) 300–301. My thanks to Jonathan Glixon for his help on this matter.

Bologna, and Robert L. Kendrick's monograph on music in Milanese convents. These volumes set the standard in the field and provided models for subsequent scholarship.⁴ Both scholars worked with surviving music by nuns—Monson with a single volume by Lucrezia Vizzana (1590–1662) and Kendrick with a much more extensive repertory composed by nuns of different musical generations, most notably Chiara Margarita Cozzolani (1602–c.1677) and Rosa Giacinta Badalla (c.1662–c.1715)—yet they focused on much broader issues: the history of female monastic institutions, strains of religious thought and practice, education within the cloister, familial attitudes towards claustrophobia, the unique rites nuns cultivated, and especially the relationships among nuns, archbishops, and the community beyond the walls. Against this rich background, they demonstrated most convincingly how the sacred music produced by cloistered women reflected not only their musical apprenticeship but also their core spiritual beliefs.

These pioneering studies inspired similar work on nuns in other Italian urban centers. Some, like Monson's, focus on a single convent: Kelley Harness's investigation of Medici patronage and music in the Florentine house of La Crocetta is a case in point.⁵ Others, taking their cue from Kendrick, investigate a wide array of monastic houses: excellent examples are offered by Kimberlyn Montford's research on performance by nuns in seventeenth-century Rome and Jonathan Glixon's work on convent music in Venice.⁶ Monson and Kendrick studied urban centers in which holy women published their compositions,

⁴ Monson C.A., *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1995); Kendrick R.L., *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: 1996). Both authors have also published a number of journal articles. Monson has recently revised and updated *Disembodied Voices* and published it in paperback, aiming it at a general audience; see his *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago – London: 2012). Music also figures in Monson's *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago – London: 2010).

⁵ Harness K.A., *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago – London: 2006), especially chs. 7 and 8.

⁶ Montford K., "Music in the Convents of Counter-Reformation Rome", Ph.D. diss. (Rutgers University: 1999); eadem, "L'anno santo and Female Monastic Churches: The Politics, Business, and Music of the Holy Year in Rome (1675)", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 6, 1 (2000), <http://sscm-jscm.org/v6/no1/montford.html>; and eadem, "Holy Restraint: Religious Reform and Nuns' Music in Early Modern Rome", *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 37, 4 (2006) 1007–1026. For Venice, see Glixon J., "Images of Paradise or Worldly Theaters? Toward a Taxonomy of Musical Performances in Venetian Nunneries", in Haggh B.H. (ed.), *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman* (Paris – Tours: 2001) 423–451; idem, "Performing Vows: Rituals of Transition in the Nunneries of Early Modern Venice", in Schulze H. (ed.),

and both scholars edited portions of that repertory so that it was widely available for further study and for performance.⁷ In many cases, however, the only clues as to what holy women might have performed are found in publications by those male composers who dedicated pieces to specific nuns or noted that their music was intended for use in the cloister.⁸ Even in the absence of music by and for female monastics, however, the documentary evidence that survives regarding their performances conveys a great deal of information concerning cultural, religious, social, and spiritual beliefs.

Work in the field of convent music must therefore draw heavily on research in sister disciplines. Medieval ideas about gender, the female body, and food, for example, continued to resonate in the early modern period and Caroline Walker Bynum's exploration of those topics provides insight into the spiritual practices of some monastic musicians. Essential, too, are the numerous contributions by Gabriella Zarri on female education, rites of passage, spirituality, and sainthood within the cloister. Because music making was often linked to theatrical productions, Elissa B. Weaver's work on nuns' theater is indispensable. Helen Hills's astute observations on convent architecture help our understanding of performance within a spatial context.⁹ The interdisciplinary

Musical Text as Ritual Object (Turnhout: 2015) 111–122; and idem, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters? Venetian Nunneries and their Music* (Oxford: forthcoming).

7 See Cozzolani Chiara Margarita, *Motets*, ed. R.L. Kendrick, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* 87 (Madison, WI: 1998). Works by Vizzana, Cozzolani, Badalla, Raphaela Aleotta (c.1579–1646), Sulpitia Cesis (1577–after 1619), Alba Trissina (c.1590–after 1638), Caterina Assandra (early 1590s–1620), Claudia Sessa (fl.1613), Bianca Maria Meda (c.1665–after 1700), and Isabella Leonarda (1620–1704), edited by Monson, Kendrick, Candace Smith, Thomasin LaMay, Jane Bowers, and Stewart Carter may be found in Furman Schliefer M. – Glickman S. (eds.), *Women Composers: Music through the Ages*, 8 vols. (New York: 1996–2006) 1 and 11. The best-known nun composer is Leonarda; see *Selected Compositions and Twelve Sonatas*, Op. 16, ed. S. Carter, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* 59 and 113 (Madison, WI: 1988 and 2001).

8 An ensemble that has recorded a great deal of music both by and for monastic women is Cappella Artemisia (conducted by Candace Smith). Magnificat (conducted by Warren Stewart), and Musica Segreta have also issued compact discs containing music by nuns.

9 See Bynum C.W., *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: 1991) and eadem, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: 1987). For Zarri, see "Monasteri femminili e città (secoli XV–XVIII)", in Chittolini G. – Miccoli G. (eds.), *La chiesa e il potere politico dal medioevo all'età contemporanea*, Storia d'Italia: Annali 9 (Turin: 1986) 359–429; eadem, "Le istituzioni dell'educazione femminile", in *I secoli moderni: le istituzioni e il pensiero*, Le sedi della cultura nell'Emilia-Romagna 8 (Milan: 1987) 85–109; eadem, *Le sante vive: cultura e religiosità femminile nella prima età moderna* (Turin: 1990); eadem, "Ursula and Catherine:

nature of convent scholarship means that articles on nuns' music are often found not only in monographs and volumes of collected essays dealing specifically with female monasticism, but also in those treating such broader issues as education, print culture, and gender studies, to name but a few.¹⁰

Although most research in the field has focused on Italy, the activities of holy women in other European countries and in the New World have by no means been neglected. Colleen Baade has brought to light the musical training and experiences of nuns in Spain, and scholars have turned their attention to institutions in New Spain, especially in Peru and Mexico.¹¹ Even if much

The Marriage of Virgins in the Sixteenth Century", in Matter E.A. – Coakley J. (eds.), *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance* (Philadelphia: 1994) 237–278; eadem, "Living Saints: A Typology of Female Sanctity in the Early Sixteenth Century", in Bornstein D. – Rusconi R. (eds.), *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Chicago – London: 1996) 219–303; and eadem, "From Prophecy to Discipline, 1450–1650", trans. K. Botsford, in Scaraffia L. – Zarri G. (eds.), *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge, MA: 1999) 83–112. Weaver has published a wealth of articles on nuns' plays, but her *magnum opus* is *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge: 2002); see also her "The Wise and Foolish Virgins in Tuscan Convent Theatre", in Wyhe C. van (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* (Aldershot: 2008) 125–140. Chapter six of Hills H., *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford – New York: 2004) offers an insightful discussion of the placement of nuns' choirs within convent churches.

¹⁰ Evangelisti S., *Nuns: A History of Convent Life 1450–1700* (Oxford: 2007) includes a chapter on "Theatre and Music" with endnotes that can lead the reader to appropriate secondary sources. See also the essays in Matter – Coakley, *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*; Wyhe, *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe*; Monson C.A. (ed.), *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor, MI: 1992); LaMay T. (ed.), *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies* (Aldershot: 2005); Boynton S. – Rice E. (eds.), *Young Choristers, 650–1700* (Woodbridge: 2008); Nelson K. (ed.), *Attending to Early Modern Women: Conflict and Concord* (Newark: 2012); and Monson C.A. – Montemorra Marvin R. (eds.), *Music in Print and beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to The Beatles* (Rochester, NY: 2013).

¹¹ For Spain, see Baade C., "Hired" Nun Musicians in Early Modern Castile", in LaMay, *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women* 287–310; eadem, "Music and Misgiving: Attitudes Towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain", in Wyhe, *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe* 81–95; eadem, "Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students in Early Modern Spain", in Murray R.E., Jr. – Forscher Weiss S. – Cyrus C.J. (eds.), *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Bloomington – Indianapolis: 2010), 262–283; and eadem, "Two Centuries of Nun Musicians in Spain's Imperial City", *TRANS – Revista Transcultural de Música* 15 (2011), article 3, <http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/publicacion/16/trans-15-2011>. For the New World, see Baker G., "Music in the Convents and Monasteries of Colonial

remains to be learned about female monastics in German-speaking countries, Janet K. Page's recent monograph on music in the convents of Vienna goes a long way in filling that void.¹² As this abbreviated overview demonstrates, compositions by and for nuns and the musical performances of early modern holy women continue to fascinate and inspire historians.¹³

My own research on Siena is greatly indebted to the groundbreaking work of Monson and Kendrick and took its initial inspiration from the encomiums of famous nun musicians in Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini's *Pompe sancesi* (1649). In Siena, as elsewhere on the Italian peninsula in institutions with strong performance traditions, the cloister reverberated not only with the sounds of nuns singing and playing for religious rites and ceremonies, but also with them practicing, rehearsing, and teaching music to the novices who would eventually join their ranks. In addition, nuns, novices, and boarders adopted music as a means of entertaining themselves and others. A letter that the nuns of S. Petronilla penned to their archbishop in 1668 captures an echo of the soundscape that permeated many Sienese convents. The women were writing to complain about the presence of the girl boarders (*educande*) in the dormitories during certain times of the day:

We can never have peace because they are being instructed to read aloud all the time and with the great number of the aforementioned boarders, there is the continuous clamor of this activity, not to mention the singing and playing in the dormitories and in the contiguous rooms [...] We therefore supplicate the incomparable benevolence of Your most Illustrious and most Reverend Lordship to renew the order that the *mestre* who wish to train the girls to read aloud, to sing, and also to play noisy instruments should seek out distant rooms that are not contiguous to the cells so as not to perturb the communal tranquility.¹⁴

Cuzco", *Latin American Music Review* 24, 1 (2003) 1–41; and Favila C., "Music and Devotion in Novohispanic Convents 1600–1800", Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago: 2016).

¹² Page J.K., *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Cambridge: 2014). See also Cyrus C.J., "The Educational Practices of Benedictine Nuns: A Salzburg Abbey Case Study", in Murray – Forscher Weiss – Cyrus, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* 249–261; and Eichner B., "Sweet Singing in Three Voices: A Musical Source from a South German Convent?", *Early Music* 39, 3 (2011) 335–347.

¹³ A recent example is Macy L., "Geronimo Cavagliari, the *Song of Songs* and Female Spirituality in Federigo Borromeo's Milan", *Early Music* 39, 3 (2011) 349–357.

¹⁴ For the full text and a translation of this letter, see Reardon C., *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575–1700* (Oxford: 2002) 34.

This letter makes it clear that the ways in which nuns perceived and valued various musical activities could differ even within the walls of a single convent. Perspectives from outside the walls could also vary widely. Moreover, as Monson has stressed, the post-Tridentine Catholic Church was neither uniform nor monolithic; the Council delegated decisions regarding musical practices in convents to local authorities.¹⁵ While it is true that certain broad trends link monastic women from different urban centers, from different countries, and even from different centuries, if we wish to investigate what music reveals about the nature of religious communities and their relationship with surrounding society, it is best to start at the local level.

In the rich and varied sonic world of the female monastery in early modern Siena, musical performance by nuns encompassed many genres and was intended for many audiences, ranging from the tight circle of the cloister to the entire city. If one musical repertory can be said to represent the internal soundscape of the convent, it was Gregorian chant. One of the few letters from Siena regarding music that found its way to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in Rome was from a woman admitted as a choral nun at S. Caterina del Paradiso on the condition that she learn to read and sing. She never did fulfill her part of the bargain, so the professed nuns denied her the usual privileges associated with that status. From her 1644 plea to Rome, we can probably infer that local authorities ruled against her as well.¹⁶

The continuing importance of plainchant within the Sienese monastic community is evident in surviving documents and sources. Archbishop Alessandro Petrucci noted in 1625 that the musical training of novices should focus exclusively on plainchant, as was typical in convents all over the peninsula. Female authorities at a number of convents requested licenses to allow male musicians to come to the convents to teach both women and girls how to sing chant; this was true both for houses with no reputation for elaborate musical performances (S. Caterina del Paradiso and S. Lorenzo) as well as for those whose holy women were renowned for their skill at singing polyphony (S. Petronilla and S. Marta). That the practice continued into the second quarter of the eighteenth century is apparent in a request the prioress at S. Caterina del Paradiso made to the archbishop in 1728. She asked for a license to allow a certain Francesco Bernini to come teach chant at the convent because, if not,

¹⁵ Monson C.A., "The Council of Trent Revisited", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, 1 (2002) 1–37, at 27–28.

¹⁶ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 30–31.

'the practice will soon cease completely as there is only one [nun] who knows how to hold the singing together and she is often sick'.¹⁷

In addition to books of licenses, other documents survive, including a detailed set of female cantors' duties from the seventeenth century, and a manuscript copied in 1675 at the request of Sister Caterina Angela Carli, who led the choir at S. Maria Maddalena. The manuscript, containing antiphons for Prime, Terce, and Vespers, shows that chant was a living, growing practice, for together with music for well-established holy days, it includes an antiphon for the feast of the Augustinian Archbishop of Valencia, St. Thomas of Villanova, whose canonization took place in 1658, and another for the Holy Name of Mary, a feast that would not be extended to the entire Western Church until 1684. The nuns of S. Petronilla likewise had new chants copied in 1675 for the Holy Name of Mary and for the feast of St. Peter of Alcántara (canonized in 1669) in order to ensure that their repertory was up to date.¹⁸

Plainchant seems to have been essential for the nuns' very perception of themselves as holy women dedicated to God. Susan Boynton's observations on practices at the medieval Abbey of Farfa hold true for nuns in early modern Siena. Chanting the liturgy was an expression of 'spiritual self-identification and affiliation'; a form of 'corporate identity' that created a single community out of numerous women and linked them all to the long and much larger monastic tradition.¹⁹

If plainchant can be seen as an expression of vocation and identity within the cloistered space, polyphony was intended to project outwards to embrace those beyond the convent walls. Chant was not eliminated from public rites, but it seems that the lay community came to expect such rites to feature polyphony. This much is clear in a report of October 1696 that the head of Siena's post office sent to Francesco Maria de' Medici, the absent governor of the city. It appears that the seven Chigi sisters who had taken the veil at S. Girolamo in Campansi had arranged for the convent's titular feast to be celebrated with new Gregorian chant from Rome, but that the music did not inspire the kind of enthusiastic response they expected.²⁰ While nuns in Siena began to cultivate the singing of polyphonic music in the early sixteenth century, it was

¹⁷ Reardon C., "Getting Past No or Getting to Yes: Nuns, Divas, and Negotiation Tactics in Early Modern Italy", in Nelson, *Attending to Early Modern Women* 23–43, at 31.

¹⁸ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 32, 232 n. 14.

¹⁹ Boynton S., *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca: 2006) 3.

²⁰ Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato 5809, fol. 496r: 'Queste Signore Principesse Chigi esistenti nel monastero di Campanzi fecero hieri una sontuosa festa

during the seventeenth century that the practice grew and flourished. In the sacred realm, monastic women focused on those occasions that would set their church apart from others in Siena and on their unique rituals.

An emphasis on convent-specific feast days is clear in the documentary record. The feasts of St. Sebastian, St. Paul, St. Monica, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Martha, St. Petronilla, St. Jerome, and SS. Abbondius and Abbondantius were celebrated with polyphony at the eponymous Sienese convents. Lavish music could be heard at Ognissanti on the feast of All Saints.²¹ Girolamo Gigli's inclusion of these and other feasts important to female monastic institutions in his *Diario sanese* constitutes a 'civic itinerary' aimed at the general public: a distinctly Sienese cycle that linked specific institutions with specific holy days.²²

Rites of passage, especially the ceremonies in which young women took the veil and the rite in which professed nuns consecrated their virginity, were celebrated for the benefit of the aristocratic families whose members inhabited the institution. Family members often brought their daughters and sisters to the monastery with pomp and circumstance, parading the young women through the streets in a procession leading to the convent door. They were present in the external church as she exchanged her finery for a nun's habit to the accompaniment of polyphonic music performed by either the professed nuns or by lay musicians that the family had hired for the occasion, or by both. Consecration rites were even more lavish, and restricted to women at three of the city's most venerable convents: the Cistercians at Le Trafisse, the Benedictines at SS. Abbondio e Abbondanzio, and the Olivetans at Ognissanti. Long-standing tradition dictated that the rite be held in the internal church, with family members in attendance and lay musicians augmenting the monastic choir. Documentary sources suggest that large-scale polyphony was common: at Ognissanti, consecration rituals were regularly embellished with compositions for three choirs. The ceremonies, held at irregular intervals, often attracted a large audience in the external church as well.²³

Nuns strove to develop especially strong ties with the women of their city, who appear to have been the ones who made the decisions about where to

in honore di S. Girolamo ove s'udì nuova inventione di musica gregoriana fatta venire da Roma, ma non sortì quel plauso che credevasi'.

²¹ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 36–38.

²² Gigli Girolamo, *Diario sanese* (Siena: 1722; 2nd ed., Siena: 1854; reprint, Bologna: 1974). I have borrowed the phrase 'civic itinerary' from Riccò L., "L'invenzione del genere 'Veglie di Siena'", in *Passare il tempo: la letteratura del gioco e dell'intrattenimento dal XII al XVI secolo: Atti del Convegno di Pienza 10–14 settembre 1991*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1993) 1, 390.

²³ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 50–74.

send their daughters destined for the religious life. For these more private, more personal occasions, holy women often turned to secular music. Holy women were fond of presenting theatrical productions. The practice was certainly well established by 1575, the year that the apostolic envoy Francesco Bossi came to inspect Sienese convents to ensure compliance with edicts issued by the Council of Trent. He objected to nuns putting on plays and tried (without success) to put a stop to it. Many of the plays linked to female monastic houses had musical scenes in which the nuns and novices sang secular polyphonic music (perhaps accompanied by instruments): madrigals, canzonettas, recitative, and arias.²⁴ Such prowess could be put to particularly good use when high-ranking, influential guests visited on special occasions. In 1656, for example, Pope Alexander VII Chigi gave his sister-in-law Berenice Della Ciaia permission to enter all convents in Siena in the company of five female relatives. The one surviving description of the visit, from S. Maria degli Angeli, shows that the nuns there honored the group with a performance consisting of instrumental music and a madrigal with text praising both the pope and Berenice's husband.²⁵ Francesca Piccolomini reported on a theatrical presentation she had heard at S. Girolamo in Campansi in February 1668, lauding her son Sigismondo Chigi (1649–1678), who had just obtained his cardinal's hat. Francesca's description of the work, a comedy with four solo roles set throughout to music suggests that the nuns performed either a serenata or a mini-opera.²⁶ Eighteen years later, the convent was the site of a three-act sacred opera. Its three singing roles were taken by ten-year-old *educande*, two of them Chigi twins. The work ostensibly celebrated the profession of their older sister, Olimpia, but the real stars were the parents, Agostino Chigi and Maria Virginia Borghese, both of whom had traveled all the way from Rome.²⁷

To summarize, polyphony provided nuns with a means to forge connections with the outside world. Learning such music from lay musicians allowed them to keep abreast of the newest musical trends. Performances of polyphony allowed holy women to display their wealth and status and, by extension, the wealth and status of all the families whose relatives inhabited the convent.

²⁴ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 75–97.

²⁵ Ibid. 43–44.

²⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Chigi (hereafter BAV, AC) 3831, fol. 183r: ‘Sabbato la Signora Donna Olimpia, Signora Donna Virginia, due altre dame et io fumo a disinare in Campanzi e il giorno ci recitorno una commedia la quale è in lode di Vostra Eminenza. La farò trascrivere e lela mandarò; è assai corta e tutta fu in musica e bella; 4 sole furo a recitare’.

²⁷ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 131–153.

Most important of all, perhaps, such polyphonic performances drew a wider public into their churches on those feast days linked to a civic calendar that defined *senesità*.

Nuns strove to shape the outside perception of their music making by promoting what Kendrick has defined as a ‘universal mental category’ of the convent as a ‘new Jerusalem’ in which the life of the world to come was reproduced on earth. The voices of women singing could then be cast as a prefiguration of angelic choirs.²⁸ A convent chronicle describing a visit of 1675 is careful to include Archbishop Celio Piccolomini’s remark that ‘if this is the convent of S. Maria degli Angeli, it must be inhabited by many angels from paradise’. In the same way, a history of SS. Abbondio e Abbondanzio transcribes a statement by a little boy in his mother’s arms who, upon hearing Matins sung at the convent church cried out, ‘The angels are crowning the nun who is singing’.²⁹

Certainly, those outside the convent with the most to gain from having access to the nuns also promulgated this image. Benvenuto Flori, a musician at Siena Cathedral, taught music at convents and wrote plays in which he gave nuns the opportunity to sing secular music. His dedication to one of the plays, *L’evangelica parabola* (1642), praises the house of Ognissanti for its ‘holy, happy, and blessed concord, where such sweet and lovely harmony resounds within those sacred walls, as if angelic singers of paradise had descended amongst us’.³⁰ An anonymous account of a Low Sunday procession in 1649 includes a passage about nuns singing concerted motets. The beauty of the performance was such that it ‘seemed as if paradise had opened up’.³¹ This pervasive symbolism might have also influenced the Sienese gentleman composer Alessandro Della Ciaia, who included a complete set of the Lamentations of Jeremiah in a 1650 print, the only known publication intended specifically for Sienese nuns. He apparently thought that the inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem were the most appropriate to lament the historic destruction of the city and the devastation of her people.³²

If both nuns and their admirers on the outside worked assiduously to frame holy women in such a way as to provide a rationale for musical performance,

²⁸ Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens* 161–162.

²⁹ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 48–49.

³⁰ Ibid. 97.

³¹ Ibid. 46.

³² An exhaustive examination of Tenebrae music can be found in Kendrick R.L., *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington – Indianapolis: 2014); he discusses Holy Week compositions for nuns on 159–167. For more on Della Ciaia’s Lamentations, see Reardon, *Holy Concord* 156–167.

the actual reception of such activity by many in the lay world often revealed more personal concerns. For many aristocratic women, music making by nuns and *educande* to whom they were related was an excellent form of free entertainment. They looked forward to such events with great anticipation, often returning from their villas to see the productions, and they sometimes participated vicariously by rummaging through their closets to find appropriate costumes for the nuns.³³ Francesca Piccolomini's letters to her son, Sigismondo Chigi, are full of references to entering the cloister, often in the company of other female friends and relatives, in order to attend nuns' theatrical productions and clothing ceremonies.³⁴ Musical performances in convents could be a source of family pride as well as a form of subtle persuasion. In 1671, for instance, Olimpia Chigi Gori wrote to her brother, Sigismondo Chigi, about her daughter, Laura, who played the organ at Mass and Vespers on a feast day at the convent of Il Refugio. Laura was probably accompanying a polyphonic choir, but Olimpia was not enraptured by the angelic voices; rather, she rejoiced in her daughter's musical accomplishment. Olimpia had doubtless encouraged Laura to cultivate her talent not only because she loved music, but also because she wanted her daughter, a reluctant denizen of the nunnery, to realize that the only way she could continue a career as an organist was inside the cloister.³⁵ Cardinal Flavio Chigi (1631–1693) was responsible for paying the man who taught music to a niece who bore his name—Flavia—at S. Petronilla.³⁶ He also ordered the chapelmastor of S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rome to send copies of sundry musical works, including Masses, cantatas, and quadruple-choir motets, to the nuns of that same convent for the clothing ceremony of another niece in 1669. The cardinal clearly wished to honor her rite with the most grandiose music possible from the very heart of the Catholic world.³⁷

For male musicians in Siena, especially those on staff at the cathedral, nuns' musical aspirations were no small boon. Teaching stipends from convents augmented their salaries making a decent income possible. It is likely that a number of professional musicians enjoyed working with monastic singers and

³³ See BAV, AC 264, letter from Francesco Piccolomini to Sigismondo Chigi, dated 3 June 1671, unn. fol.; and AC 4, letter from Patrizio Bandini, probably to Sigismondo Chigi, dated 10 June 1671, fol. 388r: 'Hoggi le monache di Monagresa fanno una bella commedia dove vanno una quantità di dame et hanno messo sottosopra mezza Siena per trovar habiti'.

³⁴ See, for example, BAV, AC 3832, fols. 179r–v.

³⁵ See Reardon C., "The Good Mother, the Reluctant Daughter, and the Convent: A Case of Musical Persuasion", in LaMay, *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women* 271–286.

³⁶ BAV, AC 485, receipts from September 1670. I was not able to identify the branch of the family from which this young woman came.

³⁷ BAV, AC 618, fol. 65v.

instrumentalists, but it seems improbable, for example, that Giuseppe Fabbrini (d.1708) would have taught full time at two convents and part time at two others, all the while holding down jobs as music director at the Collegio Tolomei and the cathedral, if financial gain had not been at least part of the motive.³⁸ In a letter to his uncle, Sigismondo Chigi, Francesco Piccolomini underlines the vital economic function that nunneries performed in Siena with a remark on the cathedral singer Giacomo Campaluci, whose triumph in the Sienese production of Cesti's *L'Argia* (1669) led him to leave his native city in search of a career as an opera singer. Rumors of a possible homecoming surfaced in late 1671, but Piccolomini reported that Campaluci would definitely not return after he learned about the new edict forbidding Duomo musicians to sing at convents. 'Why come back to earn only four *scudi* a month at the Duomo when the best payments for extra performances come from the nuns?' Piccolomini asked rhetorically.³⁹ When nuns called upon professional musicians to teach them and to perform with them, the men heard not heavenly choirs but rather the bright ring of coin.

The occasions upon which Sienese nuns performed, the nature of their relationships with lay musicians and the larger secular community, and especially the image they cultivated of their convent as a new Jerusalem do not differ strikingly from other urban centers on the Italian peninsula, or elsewhere for that matter. What appears to set Siena apart is the relative freedom with which they were able to make music (notwithstanding the decree mentioned above, which documents make clear was never enforced). It is here that knowledge of local history is crucial as it may provide a compelling connection between singing nuns and another revered group of Sienese women.

Let us turn to an important event in Siena's civic-religious life: the Low Sunday procession. Every year on this feast, religious companies carried a relic of great significance to the Sienese throughout the streets of the city,

38 Reardon C., "I monasteri femminili e la vita musicale a Siena, 1550–1700 circa", in Bryant D. – Quaranta E. (eds.), *Produzione, circolazione e consumo: Consuetudine e quotidianità della polifonia sacra nelle chiese monastiche e parrocchiali dal tardo medioevo alla fine degli antichi regimi* (Venice: 2006) 167–191, at 189.

39 BAV, AC 264, letter from Francesco Piccolomini to Sigismondo Chigi, dated 9 December 1671, unn. fol.: 'Credo che Vostra Eminenza habbia da rompere la deliberatione che fece qua circa il Campaluci mentre il suo ritorno è disperato scrivendomi che per quello che lui puole, non puol ritornare e tanto più quando saprà i nuovi ordini fatti ai mastri di cappella che non vadino in niun conto a cantare a monache e però mi credo che non vorrà tornar qua per buscare i soli quattro scudi il mese del Duomo mancandoli il meglio dell'i straordinari che sono le monache'.

accompanied by much of the populace.⁴⁰ On a number of occasions, that relic was housed in a nunnery. In 1649, for example, the confraternities borrowed the severed head of St. Galganus, one of Siena's four patrons. The nuns of S. Maria degli Angeli possessed the relic, whose ownership the women of Ognissanti hotly disputed. The procession stopped at both monastic churches and the rivalry called forth spectacular and elaborate displays of polyphony from each house. After the relic lay in state for a week in the external church of S. Maria degli Angeli, the confraternities restored it to the nuns so that they could once again place it in their internal church. Before the holy women did so, however, they took the relic in procession in their own sphere. The citizenry went to the city gate at Pispini, where they could see quite easily into the convent grounds. As the Augustinian women paraded the head of St. Galganus around their courtyard and gardens, all the while singing hymns, the women in the contiguous convent of S. Monaca performed a motet to honor the saint and about twenty nuns from the same convent stood atop a wall with lighted tapers in hand, a sight that brought 'both devotion and delight'.⁴¹

This image of women standing on the walls while music rose around them might have struck a deep and resonant chord in the Sienese collective memory, harking back to the war of Siena, when the city, with the help of the French, struggled long and unsuccessfully to fight off the combined Florentine and Spanish forces. In early 1553, just before this dark period, three Sienese women—Laudomia Forteguerri, Livia Fausti, and Fausta Piccolomini—, dressed in different colors, each displaying an insignia and a motto, dispersed

throughout the city, gathering all the other ladies and artisan women to number more than three thousand [...] The women, for love of liberty did not refuse death, travail, nor any labour. And thus in formation they went all around crying 'France, France', and each one of them carried a faggot to the fort of Porta Camollia, which at that hour was built.⁴²

In his memoirs, the French commander of the besieged forces, Blaise de Monluc, reports the incident as it was told to him and furthermore notes that

⁴⁰ Reardon C., *Agostino Agazzari and Music at Siena Cathedral, 1597–1641* (Oxford: 1993) 70–71.

⁴¹ Reardon, *Holy Concord* 46–47.

⁴² Translation from McClure G., *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: 2013) 50.

the women ‘composed a song to the honor of France, for which I wish I had given the best horse I have that I might insert it here’.⁴³

The defining moment in the history of early modern Siena was the loss of its independence. In the wake of this devastating blow, the Sienese had to find ways to express their own distinct identity: their *senesità*. Gerald Parsons, among others, has suggested that manifestations of their ‘civil religion’ were one manner in which they accomplished this.⁴⁴ This may explain the lack of restrictions on music making by Siena’s nuns in the early modern era. It might well be that when the Sienese heard their holy women performing from *within* the walls, they remembered the women *at* the walls, banding together to build a fortress against the enemy and singing to raise the spirits of the people. Not only might the voices of nuns singing have prefigured future heavenly bliss but they also might have symbolized past glory: a precious remnant of a time before the defeat when the walls held.

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⁴³ Translation from Robin D., *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago – London: 2007) 127.

⁴⁴ Parsons G., *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese* (Aldershot: 2004) xiii–xix.

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Singing the Community: Plainchant in Early Modern *petites écoles*

Xavier Bisaro

Two historiographical narratives have long enjoyed privilege in the study of French early modern parochial schools. First, the expansion of elementary schooling has often been described as a double institutional process, involving Church and state. From a religious point of view, the proliferation of parochial schools has been linked to both pre- and post-Tridentine Catholic reform. Parochial schools were important in the transmission of an orthodox catechism, a matter of crucial importance in the new pluriconfessional context.¹ School activity was also promoted for political purposes. Royal edicts issued from the time of Charles IX through the reign of Louis XIV, reveal the Crown's employment of parochial schools in the service of a policy of religious pacification and civic control.² Second, French historiography has been focused on the reading-writing controversy. Since the nineteenth century, scholars have variously attempted to demonstrate that parish schools behaved as precursors to the Republican educational paradigm or, quite to the contrary, that the so-called *petites écoles* embodied a complete failure preceding a new era.³

These narratives help explain why historians of schooling have not seriously considered singing as an educative activity. Absent from recent historiography (with few brilliant exceptions),⁴ chant practice in parochial schools remained invisible or, rather, inaudible for historians precisely because of its apparently weak function in relation to religious challenges, and because of its

¹ Carter K.E., *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France* (Notre Dame, IN: 2011).

² It thus appears that civic and ecclesiastical legislation on this subject were closely intertwined. See *Abrége du Recueil des actes, titres et memoires concernant les affaires du Clergé de France* (Paris – Avignon, Chez Guillaume Desprez – Chez Jacques Garrigan: 1761) 624–628.

³ Gerbold P., "Les historiens de l'enseignement en France au XIX^e siècle", *Histoire de l'éducation* 26 (1985) 3–15.

⁴ See Van Orden K., "Children's Voices: Singing and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century France", *Early Music History* 25, 1 (2006) 209–256. This approach has been recently deepened by the same author: eadem, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: 2015), part II, "Learning to read", 117ff.

secondary status with respect to catechism or to competence in reading and writing. This attitude led, in turn, to an incomplete understanding of pupils' activities. In fact, chant practice was closely associated with and even integrated into the schooling curriculum. This was particularly the case in late medieval Latin schools whose instruction was derived from cathedral schools.⁵ Because of the continuity of these circumstances during the Lutheran Reform, the German-speaking area has already been considered from this standpoint.⁶ Yet the French case has not really been studied, until now, from a musical perspective, despite the evidence attesting to the widespread practice of plainchant by boys and girls during the time they spent as pupils in the *petites écoles*.

In light of this, I have started the ‘Cantus Scholarum’ project (2013–2017), aimed at studying the practice of school singing in early modern Europe, with a special emphasis on France.⁷ The present contribution is based on the preliminary results of that project. Eschewing a pedagogical approach, especially one focused on the literacy methods used by schoolmasters,⁸ I consider here the practice as a component of the soundscape of Early Modern Catholicism, particularly in rural and non-elite sectors of French society. School singing participated, as we will see below, in the sonic environment of children and adult parishioners, even in small villages. Yet these parishioners were not passive listeners: school singing was submitted to a kind of popular control or, to put it in another way, it was the result of an empirical coproduction involving both laity and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Popular control depended on local decisions from lay people and/or parochial clerics whose goal was to regulate school singing. During the early modern period, this control was mainly expressed through last wills and testaments that made provision for the foundation of new schools. These documents were intended to secure the funding for schoolmasters' employment, and to prescribe, sometimes with great detail,

⁵ In the episcopal city of Nantes (1469), the succentor of the cathedral taught, even if at elementary level, chant, music, the alphabet, and reading; furthermore, he had the pupils learn Matins and the Psalter by heart; see Maître L., *L'Instruction publique dans les villes et les campagnes du comté nantais avant 1789* (Nantes: 1882) 62. This school should not to be confused with the *psallette* founded in 1412.

⁶ See Niemöller K.W., *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: 1969), and Brusniak F., Conrad Rein (ca. 1475–1522), *Schulmeister und Komponist* (Wiesbaden: 1980).

⁷ For further details about the project, see <https://www.cantus-scholarum.univ-tours.fr>.

⁸ See Bisaro X., “Verbal Regulation in Early Modern French School and Plainchant Books”, in the proceedings of the conference ‘Voices and Books, 1500–1800’ (Newcastle, July 2015), *Huntington Library Quarterly* (special issue), forthcoming.

their duties and the general school rules. Given that the act of drafting a will or testament denoted at least a minimum financial capacity, we may conclude that the popular supervision of schooling did not strictly emanate from lower class people. Yet the social profile of testators was more varied than might be expected, and school clauses in their wills impacted a large range of social categories, from middle-class pupils to poor children to whom free schooling was sometimes offered. Additionally, secular priests—who often made wills in favor of school foundations—were not yet as socially advantaged as they would become during the seventeenth century.⁹ In other words, it could be assumed that school foundations emerged, in a certain way, from the intermediate and higher levels of rural society.

This paper proposes a study of several school documents, concentrating on those from some early seventeenth-century foundations located in a large western region of the French kingdom (Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Comté Nantais, Vendômois, and Guyenne). In this western fringe, the pattern of schooling was quite homogeneous, at least during the first half of the century: schools were often related to pious foundations; they were led by priests rather than lay schoolmasters;¹⁰ and they offered a curriculum that extended from elementary grades through to the beginning of the *collège* upper degree course that included humanities. On the basis of these case studies, some anthropological and sonorous aspects of the popular setting of school plainchant will be investigated in order to weigh its impact on early modern Catholic aural culture.

Charity Begins at Home

The first motivation for school-singing foundations is commonplace and ancestral:¹¹ founders entered into a transaction between themselves and the beneficiaries of their gifts. The will left by the parish priest Julien Berauld (1649) in Jublains is archetypal of this ‘hereafter business’. It begins with the inscription on his own tombstone:

⁹ Brunet S., “Les prêtres des campagnes de la France du XVII^e siècle: la grande mutation”, *XVII^e siècle* 234, 1 (2007) 49–82.

¹⁰ Some school foundations stipulated that the schoolmaster should be a priest or, at the very least, an ordinand. See Bellée A., *Recherches sur l'instruction publique dans le département de la Sarthe avant et pendant la Révolution* (Le Mans: 1875) 68, 90, 222, 230, 238.

¹¹ For the foundation act of the Collège Saint-Jean in Nantes (1471), see Maître, *L'Instruction publique* 153–154.

Cy gist le corps d'un miserable pecheur Julien Berauld l'aisné p[rê]tre au
trefois curé de ceans[.] Il prie tous dévots chrestiens luy donner un *Pater*
& *Ave*, ou du moins *Requiescat in pace*.¹²

Here is Julien Berauld's body, poor sinner, cleric, formerly parish priest of this town. He beseeches all devout Christians to offer him a Pater and an Ave, or at least a *Requiescat in pace*.

This engraved inscription encouraged the faithful to offer an *in memoriam* prayer. Such functions inspired several foundations in the same wills, most of them including school pupils:

En second lieu qu'ils diront ou feront dire[,] célébrer & chanter a haulte voix et notte dans la chappelle du Saint Rosaire en lad[ite] Eglise tous les samedis de l'année à perpetuité une messe de l'office d'icellui Rosaire et à l'issüe d'icelle un *De profundis* et l'oraison *Inclina*[;] la procession auparavant que commencer icelle messe autour du cimetiere et Eglise dud[it] Jublains a partir du lieu dud[it] College, en chantant a icelle procession par les régens et escolliers le *Stabat Mater*, les Litanies ou autre service a[p]proprié à la Sainte Vierge. Et que tous les soirs soit aussi par eux dit et chanté l'oraison et salut avec le *De profundis* et une oraison pour les deffunts, et qu'a la fin d'iceux soient prononcés à haute et intelligible voix les Commandements de Dieu et de la Sainte Eglise par l'un des escolliers.¹³

Secondly, they will say Mass, or direct that Mass be said, aloud and noted, in the chapel of the Rosary in the church each Saturday in perpetuity, a Mass of the Rosary and, after it, a *De profundis* and the prayer *Inclina*. The procession will occur before the Mass, around the cemetery and the church of Jublains, from the college. During the procession, teachers and pupils will sing the *Stabat Mater*, the litanies and other things dedicated to the Holy Virgin. And every evening, they will also say and sing the oration and salutation with the *De profundis* and a prayer for the deceased, and thereafter one of the pupils will recite in a loud and intelligible voice the Commandments of God and those of the Holy Church.

¹² Berauld's will in Archives départementales de la Mayenne (= Arch. dép. Mayenne), D 18.

¹³ Ibid. Such a foundation is similarly reported in the southern part of Normandy: see the foundation act for the school of Saint-James (1540) in Laveille A., *L'instruction primaire dans l'ancien diocèse d'Avranches avant la Révolution* (Évreux: 1891) 31–32.

Making provision for children to sing was apparently the best way for this founder to enjoy a nearly eternal prayer.¹⁴ In this respect, the daily prayer performed by school pupils facilitated the programming of such obituary additions:¹⁵ its relocation within the church did not contravene common school obligations. Furthermore, in a parish of more or less a thousand inhabitants¹⁶ yet deprived of any chapter, and therefore without a permanent musical staff, school pupils provided a convenient means of augmenting the solemnity of such a *memento*. Numerous children singing together constituted a high-level ingredient in the ceremony, and the spiritual benefits dedicated to the founders' souls were more easily delivered in services where the children were present than they would be through the presence of the schoolmaster alone or through low Masses.¹⁷

At endowed services, the children's presence embodied, before the eyes of all, the benefactor's magnanimity. In Julien Berauld's explanations of his intention to establish a college, this reason is explicitly evoked:

[Berauld désire] obliger encore davantage la paroisse du dit Jublains et le public à se souvenir de nous en leurs prières sachant qu'il n'y a rien de plus utile et avantageux non seulement pour les choses temporelles, mais particulièrement pour les spirituelles que l'instruction de la jeunesse à la piété et aux bonnes lettres.¹⁸

[Berauld intended] the parish of Jublains and people to remember [him] during their prayers, because there is nothing more useful and advantageous, not only for worldly matters but especially for spiritual ones, than the education of youth in piety and the humanities.

The school activity envisioned by the founder was seen as a natural extension of his professional duty as a parish priest. After having taken care of his

¹⁴ This rather burdensome foundation was diminished to a single low Mass a week in 1737. For the episcopal notification, see Arch. dép. Mayenne, D 18.

¹⁵ In 1602, the foundation act for a schoolmaster in Yvré-l'Évêque mentioned a *De profundis* for the founder 'à l'issue de l'oraison qui se dict par les escolliers en l'église' ('after the prayer said by the pupils in the church'). Bellée, *Recherches sur l'instruction publique dans le département de la Sarthe* 243.

¹⁶ The population of Jublains is reported as 1,265 in 1793. See http://cassini.ehess.fr/cassini/fr/html/fiche.php?select_resultat=17971 (accessed 28 September 2016).

¹⁷ When they founded schools, lay people were also concerned with the pupils' singing function. See Bellée, *Recherches sur l'instruction publique dans le département de la Sarthe* 84, 119, 181.

¹⁸ Berauld's will in Arch. dép. Mayenne, D 18.

parishioners' souls during his life, Julien Berauld aspired to extend this care after his own death through the teaching of the parish children.¹⁹ In the corpus studied, other parish priests added even more personal inflections, as when the founder of the college in Chantenay (1611) specified the *singulière affection* for the village that he wished to express.²⁰

Berauld's school foundation was also intended to be self-representative: schooling stood as a monument to his magnanimity for all the inhabitants of Jublains. Nevertheless, school activity was not seen by all parishioners: it took place in a closed room, and its effects were more perceptible in the familial environment than in the wider community.²¹ As a direct result of Berauld's bequest, the singing of children in the church of Jublains each Saturday ensured the simultaneous lifting of children's voices towards Heaven and the conspicuous demonstration of the donor's generosity for the benefit of the parishioners. For the community, the sounding experience of these services could be amplified by the ringing of bells. In Marcillé-la-Ville, the priest Charles de Bellée (1628) wanted the schoolmaster to

dire l'oraison en la chapelle Notre-Dame de Pittié les jours de mercredy, vendredy et sabmedy de chacun sepmaine, assistés du plus grant nombre d'escolliers qu'ils pourront, à la fin de laquelle oraison ils diront *Inclina* et *Fidelium* dudit de Bellée, parens, et amis, bienfaiteurs trespassés, sonneront la cloche demy quart d'heure auparavant que de dire ladite oraison.²²

say the oration in the chapel of Our Lady of Pity on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday every week, with the largest possible gathering of pupils. When the oration is finished, they will recite *Inclina* and *Fidelium* for De Bellée, his parents and friends, all deceased benefactors, and they will ring the bell half a quarter of an hour before they will say the oration.

¹⁹ The connection between this kind of service and the founder's charitable intent was made by other parish priests like René Guestier in Sougé (1626). See Métais C., *Les Petites écoles à Vendôme et dans le Vendômois* (Orléans – Vendôme: 1886) 55.

²⁰ Bellée, *Recherches sur l'instruction publique dans le département de la Sarthe* 89.

²¹ The localization of the act of singing is noticeable even in such modest wills as the one signed by Michel Echard and his wife (Louverné, 1621). They offer a house for the parish school ‘à condition que les enfants diront le *Salve Regina* et l'oraison suivante, dans l'église à la sortie de l'école’ (‘on the condition that the children will say the Salve Regina and the following prayer in the church after school’); quoted by Angot A., *L'instruction populaire dans le département de la Mayenne avant 1790* (Paris – Laval: 1890) 183.

²² Angot, *L'instruction populaire* 184–185. Other stipulations, however, located pupils' singing in the schoolhouse and not in the church; *ibid.* 189, 264.

Not only school foundations, but also numerous pious ones, required the schoolmaster²³ to be surrounded by his singing pupils²⁴ for both personal and collective intentions. In the parish of Savigny, a local, François de Salmon, left a provision in his will (1605) to finance the singing of the schoolmaster and his pupils at the conclusion of a weekly procession, for the prosperity of the benefactors as well as for all the faithful departed.²⁵ This means that, apart from parochial Masses for which children's voices were also promoted by ecclesiastical authorities, members of the community themselves considered pupils' voices and school singing as profitable and beneficial for the cause of their own salvation.

Educative Aims

The testator's second main interest in school singing was bound up with educational goals. Every school foundation included several requests for singing related to the children's daily schedule. In the first place, sung prayers structured the pupils' day. Singing would occur at the beginning of the class day, at the midday break, and after Vespers, as is, for example, prescribed in the foundation for the college of Villaines-la-Juhel (1656):

De plus, lesditzsieurs prieur, procureur et habitans obligeront iceux prestres de faire dire une courte prière à l'entrée de la classe, et de dire et chanter à la sortie d'icelle classe une antienne et oraison de la Vierge, selon le temps, le psaume *De profundis*, la collecte *Praesta quaesumus*, ou bien *Deus qui apostolicos*, en singulier, *Deus veniae largitor*, et *Fidelium*, avec quelques autres prières selon les nécessités publiques.²⁶

Moreover, the prior, mayor, and community will oblige the priests to have the pupils recite a short prayer when they enter the classroom, and to say and sing when they leave a Marian antiphon and oration, according to the liturgical season, the *De profundis* psalm, the *Praesta quaesumus* collect, or

²³ This case was a classical one: pedagogical and liturgical duties were often required of a schoolmaster.

²⁴ Bellée, *Recherches sur l'instruction publique dans le département de la Sarthe* 105, 112–113 and Maître, *L'Instruction publique* 141.

²⁵ Métais, *Les Petites écoles à Vendôme* 53.

²⁶ Foundation for a college in Villaines-la-Juhel (1656) quoted by Angot, *L'instruction populaire* 274.

the *Deus qui apostolicos*, especially the *Deus veniae largitor*, and *Fidelium*, together with other prayers appropriate to the needs of the public.

This function was formal but not without effect on the training of the children's devotion; the regular repetition of a small repertory of sung prayers contributed to their religious education. This appears in a more precise disposition established by the founder of the little college of Beaumont-Pied-de-Bœuf in 1651:

Le maître d'école fera chanter aux enfans en la dite église ou en sa maison devant quelque image de Notre-Dame, le salut à la Vierge, tous les soirs, afin d'exercer les enfans à dévotion et service de Dieu et de la Sainte-Vierge.²⁷

The schoolmaster will direct the children to sing the salutation to the Virgin in the said church or in his home, before an image of the Virgin every evening, in order to instill devotion and service to God and the Holy Virgin among the children.

In this configuration, chant is promoted as a pedagogical tool; it contributes to a semiotic complex that comprises a mental intention (the Marian salutation), a visual representation of this intention (the picture), its verbal expression (the words of the prayer), and probably a posture, and plainchant as an additional sonorous feature. Consequently, chant practice participated in the shaping of a general Christian disposition learnt by children in the *petites écoles*. It is for this reason that chant appeared at the center of all the Christian competences required in 1612 by the Bishop of Saint-Malo, Guillaume Le Gouverneur. According to him, the schoolmaster had to teach to

prier Dieu tous les matins et tous les soirs, invoquer la Vierge Marie et les Saints, ouïr la messe tous les jours et y servir dévotement, estre humbles, se confesser et faire leur bon jour tous les mois, assister à la grande messe, à vespres, et aux sermons et prédications tous les dimanches et autres festes, sçavoir le chant ecclésiastique, bien faire le signe de la croix et s'en munir souvent, comme en se couchant, en se levant, en se dépouillant, en s'habillant, en sortant du logis, en y entrant, au commencement et à la fin de la lecture des livres, en commençant leurs prières, en se mettant à

²⁷ Foundation for a college in Beaumont-Pied-de-Bœuf (1651), Angot, *L'instruction populaire* 31.

table, et aultres semblables œuvres et occasions, selon que toujours a été la coustume de l'Eglise de Dieu.²⁸

pray to God every morning and evening, invoke the Virgin Mary and the saints, hear Mass daily and serve it with devotion, remain humble, confess and observe their good day [i.e., receive communion] every month, attend high Mass, Vespers, the sermons and the preaching every Sunday and feast day, know chant, make the sign of the Cross and repeat it often at such moments as bedtime, rising in the morning, undressing or dressing, leaving and returning home, at the beginning or the end of reading books, starting to pray, sitting down to eat, and other circumstances, because that has always been the custom of the Church of God.

The profit of singing was not solely spiritual. Children's voices were utilized to give meaning—and perhaps rhythm—to their action, in particular when they had to perform a text commenting upon an action. When the canon Jacques de La Mothe founded the college of Courdemanche, he established a regular procession during which psalm singing emphasized the meaning of processional movement:

[pour se rendre à la messe] les écoliers seront conduits deux à deux, et diront, sortant de la maison, *Vias tuas Domine, demonstra mihi, et semitas tuas edoce me* [Ps 25:4]; *dirige, Domine, gressus meos in viam salutis aeternae*.²⁹

[going to Mass], pupils will walk two by two, and leaving the schoolhouse, they will say 'Make me to know thy ways, O Lord; teach me thy paths [Ps 25:4]; direct my steps in the way of everlasting salvation'.

Taking account of all these singing circumstances, it is not surprising to find a plainchant section in guides for school instruction. Among them, Jacques Cossard's *Méthodes pour apprendre à lire, à escripre, [à] chanter le plain chant et compter* (1633) delivered such tools as solmization and psalmody to teach children plainchant, even offering them some basic notions of mensural notation [Fig. 5.1].

²⁸ Quoted by the Abbé Piéderrière, 'Les petites écoles avant la Révolution dans la province de Bretagne', *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée* 21, 1 (1877) 134.

²⁹ See "Statuts du Collège de Courdemanche – suite et fin", *La Province du Maine* 1, 34 (1845) 6–8, at 6.



FIGURE 5.1 *Cossard Jacques, Méthodes pour apprendre à lire, à escrire, [à] chanter le plain chant et compter* (Paris, Chez l'auteur: 1633) 324.

Ultimately, singing ability seems to have been conceived of as a learned virtue fully associated with children's education. As for reading, this skill was not considered as a strictly mechanical one. Singing capacity impacted the Christian behavior of each pupil; thus, it could be valued as a part of their moral capital. Commenting upon the death of a young girl, a priest of Pré-en-Pail (1616) memorialized this virtue in the community register:

[Décès de] Marie, fille de Gilles Buat, aagée de six ans cinq moys & l'une de mes escollières qui sçavoit toutes ses heures[,] vespres et sept pseaulmes.³⁰

[Death of] Marie, daughter of Gilles Buat, aged six years and five months and one of my pupils, she knew all her hours, Vespers and the seven [penitential] psalms.

Whereas elsewhere the priest praised the kindness, the devotion, or the purity of a deceased parishioner, he chose for this girl to emphasize her singing

³⁰ Parochial register of Pré-en-Pail, Arch. dép. Mayenne, E dépôt 136/E1.

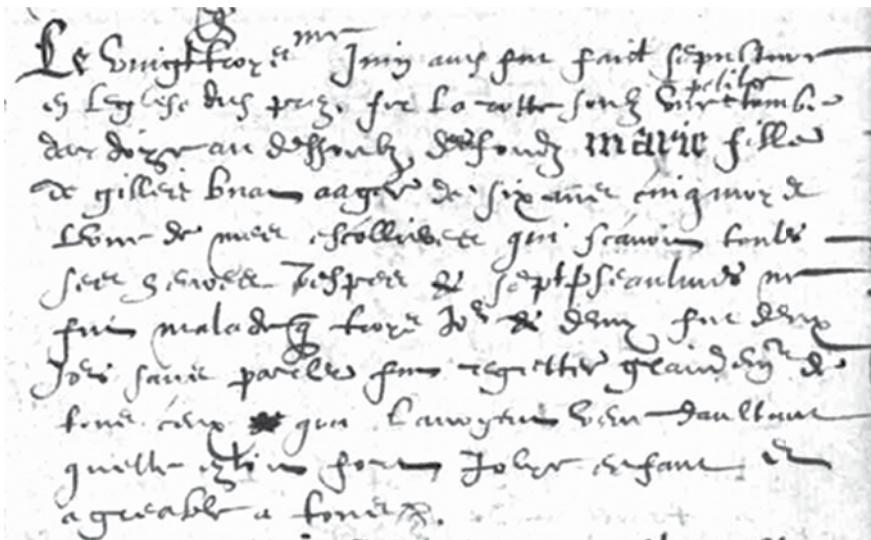


FIGURE 5.2 *Funeral act of Marie Buat (1616)*, Laval, Archives départementales de la Mayenne, E dépôt 136/E1.

ability. Through this written *memento mortuorum*, whose recipient's name is graphically emphasized [Fig. 5.2], the educated voice of Marie Buat was definitively inscribed in the memory of the parochial community.

Singing (for) the Community

A third founders' interest should be stressed: their concern for the entire community, that is to say not only themselves and the pupils, but also the whole group of parishioners. Indeed, on a practical level, chant teaching in the parish school was a guarantee of liturgical continuity. Young boys will become young men able to sing at the pulpit, thereby able to maintain the aural integrity of the statutory parish Mass. This need led the schoolmaster of Chantenay (1611) to teach the children 'à chanter, du moins le plain-chant, en sorte et affin qu'ils puissent ayder à célébrer le service de l'église' ('to sing at least plainchant, so that they are able to assist during the worship in the church').³¹ At approximately the same time, the parish priest of Arveyres (1610) complained that, because the schoolmaster devoted too much time to subjects other than chant

³¹ Bellée, *Recherches sur l'instruction publique* 90.

and ceremonies, 'le plus souvent, il n'a aucun pour luy aider à dire vespres' ('most often, there is nobody to assist him in the singing of Vespers').³²

School pupils were also appointed to provide a daily liturgical activity without an obituary intention, as if they were choirboys in a capitular church. With such an aim, the priest Julien Baussay bequeathed a house for schooling in the parish of Saint-Léonard-des-Bois (1597) so that the schoolmaster would 'dire, luy et ses escolliers, le salut de *beata Maria*, et les antennes, proses et oraisons accoutumées, selon le temps, en l'église dudit Saint-Léonard, et ce au soir, par chacun jour' ('sing, he and his pupils, the *de beata Maria* salutation, the customary antiphons, proses and prayers according to the season, in the church of St. Léonard, every day in the evening').³³ In this way, liturgical training, even in small parish schools, tended to amplify the public worship to the extent that even synods would make mention of this function, as in the Norman diocese of Avranches (1550):

Insuper eisdem scholarum magistris praecipimus, quatenus suos pueros diligenter in litteris, cantu, et moribus instruant, et docendo continue super eos invigilant, illos vagari & discurrere non permittentes. Et cum festum diem solennem appropinquare cognoverint, ipsos scholasticos lectiones distincte legere, responsoria cantare et versiculos secundum eorum capacitatem doceant.³⁴

We order schoolmasters diligently to teach children letters, chant, and good manners, and that they supervise them constantly while teaching, and not let them wander or roam about. When they realize that a solemn feast is approaching, [we want them to] teach the pupils to declaim distinctly the readings, and to sing the responsories and verses according to their abilities.

Moreover, some documents allow us to infer a concern with the child's voice itself and, perhaps, its ethical power. For instance, in the parish of Lesparre (1642), the priest was so satisfied with his schoolmaster that he detailed all his actions:

³² Allain E., *Contribution à l'histoire de l'instruction primaire dans la Gironde avant la Révolution* (Bordeaux – Paris: 1895) 5.

³³ Bellée, *Recherches sur l'instruction publique* 216.

³⁴ Bessin G., *Concilia Rotomagensis provinciae* (Rouen, Apud Franciscum Vaultier: 1717) 289. See also the diocesan rules for Saint-Malo (1620) quoted by Piéderrière, "Les petites écoles" 134.

Guill[aume] Martin [...] travaille à l'instruction desdicts enfans, avec beaucoup d'honneur et de zèle, ne les instruisant pas seulement à la lecture, escripture et les principes de la grammaire, mais encore et principalement ès exercices de la religion chrestienne, conduisant luy mesme lesdicts enfans, trois fois la sepmaine, à la procession et grand'messe qui se faict et célèbre dans ladicte ville, de l'assistance desquels Martin et enfans conduits par luy, ledic sr curé reçoit un grand soulagement en ses offices par le secours de leurs chants et le peuple en reste grandement édifié.³⁵

Guillaume Martin [...] is dedicated to the instruction of children, with honor and diligence, not only in reading, writing, and the first elements of grammar, but mainly in the activities of the Christian religion. Thrice weekly, he leads the children in procession to the high Mass that is offered in this town. Martin and the children under his care thus lend a valuable service to the parish priest through their songs, and the parishioners are left greatly edified.

This testimony shows that people were 'greatly edified' by observing and hearing the pupils, and that this edification was perhaps another reason for maintaining the benefactors' concern about school singing. Unfortunately, archives are not able to deliver the hidden part of their wills. Hence it is necessary to gather some cultural data in order to reveal unspoken motivations. Starting with the most evident source, the Bible comprises several passages where children's voices are essential for praising God. Psalm 8 has children expressing divine praise ('ex ore infantum et lactantium perfecisti laudem') and the Gospel of Matthew (*Mt* 21:16) tells us that after Jesus interrupted routine activities in the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, he quoted this psalm verse to advocate on behalf of the children who were celebrating him. And children once more praised Jesus during his triumphal entry in Jerusalem. Being re-enacted every year on Palm Sunday in every parish, this scene must have influenced the reception of children's psalm singing.

When it came to defending vernacular canticles for the catechism, the French Jesuit Michel Coysard never ceased to reinforce the Biblical justification for children's singing:

35 Quoted by Allain, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'instruction primaire* 77.

Par quoy, il se ne faut, en rien estonner, non pas mesme, quand des principaux Ecclesiastiques s'y opposeroient, nous souvenants, qu'en S. Mathieu ch. 19.14 les Apostres mesmes repronoient ceux, qui presentoient leurs Enfants à nostre Seigneur. Et qu'au chap. 21.16 du mesme Evangeliste, les Princes des Prestres, & les Scribes des plus apparents de la Synagogue tansoient les petits Enfants chantants, & criants au Temple *Hosanna filio David*, nostre Seigneur ayant prins leur cause, & les defendant contre les uns, & les autres.³⁶

We should not then be surprised even if prominent clerics were opposed. We should remember that, according to St. Matthew (19:14), the Apostles rebuked those who were presenting their children to our Lord. And in the same Gospel (21:16), the Chiefs of the Priests and the main Scribes from the Synagogue scolded children singing and shouting by the Temple 'Hosanna filio David'. Our Lord had stood for them and defended them against each other.

On the other hand, early modern acoustics has perhaps strengthened this positive connotation issued from apologetics. In his *Harmonie universelle*, Marin Mersenne argued that high voices were pleasant because of their symbolic meaning. According to him, they represented children's innocence, youthfulness, and vitality:

Il faut donc conclure que le Son aigu est le plus agreable, pourvu qu'il ne surpasse pas la capacité de l'oreille, comme l'on experimentera aux recits des ieunes enfans que l'on ayme mieux ouyr que nul autre concert, parce que la voix aiguë nous represente l'innocence, la delicatesse, et la ieu-nesse des enfans, qui sont plus plains de vie, ou plus proches de la source de la vie, et qui chantent plus delicatement et plus doucement que ceux qui chantent les autres parties, ou parce que le Son aigu flatte l'oreille, et reveille davantage l'esprit.³⁷

³⁶ Coysard Michel, *Traicté du profit, que toute personne tire de chanter en la Doctrine Chrestienne, & ailleurs, les Hymnes, & Chansons spirituelles en vulgaire*, in idem, *Les Hymnes sacrez, et odes spirituelles* (Lyon, Par Jean Pillehotte: 1608) 45–46. About this volume and its context, see Filippi D.V., “A Sound Doctrine: Early Modern Jesuits and the Singing of the Catechism”, *Early Music History* 34 (2015) 1–43.

³⁷ Mersenne Marin, *Harmonie universelle*, “Livre premier de la nature et des proprietez du son” (Paris, Chez Sebastien Cramoisy: 1636) 73.

We shall conclude that a high sound is more pleasant, provided that it does not exceed our hearing range, as we experience during the *recits* of young children that we like to hear much more than any other concert, because a high voice represents the innocence, delicacy, and youthfulness of children (being more lively and closer to the source of life, they sing more sensitively and more sweetly than the other voices) or because high sound flatters the ear and awakens the soul more.

In another part of his treatise, Mersenne continues this analogy, pointing out that high voices are nearer to Heaven and closer to the principle of life than are low voices.

Il faut donc suiuire la raison qui semble nous dicter qu'il est plus agreable de chanter en montant qu'en baissant, d'autant que l'on va comme de la mort à la vie, & du néant à l'estre, puis que la voix aiguë a plus de mouvement, & que son aigu estant produit par des battemens d'air qui sont plus frequens, & qui se suiuient de plus pres, approche plus du continu, dont l'estre & la consistence est plus ferme & plus uniforme que n'est celle du son graue, dont les parties sont plus separées, & par consequent plus proches de leur ruine et de leur néant, que tous les estres fuyent de toute leur force. Et nous experimentons que les Dessus des Concerts, tant aux voix qu'aux Instrumens, réveillent bien davantage l'attention, & sont beaucoup plus agréables, comme approchans de plus pres du ciel & de la vie, que les Basse: or nous prenons plus de plaisir à nous approcher de ce qui est plus parfait & plus remply de vie, que de ce qui est plus imparfait & plus pres de la mort.³⁸

One must follow reason, that shows us that singing high is more pleasant than [singing] low, since we go as from death to life, or from void to existence, because the high voice is more agile, and the high sound is produced by vibrations of the air that are more frequent and that follow each other closely, and whose existence and consistence are stronger and more uniform than those of a low sound, whose elements are more separated, and therefore closer to their downfall and loss, and from which all living creatures flee with all their might. Our experience is that both vocal and instrumental high parts attract our attention more readily, and that they are more pleasant because they are closer to Heaven and life

38 Ibid., "Traitez de la voix, et des chants" 24.

than low voices are. And we take more pleasure being close to perfect and in living things than in things that are imperfect and closer to death.

So Mersenne concludes:

De la vient que l'on aime et que l'on caresse plus les enfans que les vieillards, qui sont semblables aux sons grands et pesans, et à l'hiver, comme les enfans au printemps ou à l'esté, et à la chaleur ou au feu. Les voix basses sont semblables aux tenebres, qui ne sont recherchées que par les hiboux et les lutins; mais les voix hautes sont semblables à la lumière et au jour [...].³⁹

Hence we love and take care of children more than old men, who are similar to great and heavy sounds, or to winter, while children are like spring or summer, or heat and fire. Low voices are like darkness, which is sought after only by owls and goblins. But high voices seem to be like brightness and daylight [...].

In spite of an apparent naïveté, this assertion might explain some of the unspoken motivations for the adult preference of children's voices, at least for the beginning of the seventeenth century. Sharing Mersenne's views, it might be conceived that, in a time of great fragility and uncertainty about their own life, lay people and clerics listening to pupils' voices were contemplating what they no longer were and what they aspired to become after their death.

Conclusion

Three main ideas could be helpful in conceiving plainchant as a cultural phenomenon for the main part of early modern society. First, even during the so-called post-Tridentine era, the medieval custom of foundations dedicated to salvation and to the *memoria animae* enduringly fashioned French local devotional practice.⁴⁰ And where school pupils were available to contribute to this liturgy dedicated to the deceased of the community, the gap between urban and rural musical activity was partially reduced. Plainchant was certainly the

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ For a musicological approach to this tradition, see Lefferts P.M., “Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England”, *Current Musicology* 45–47 (1990) 247–282.

main sonorous component of these services, but its ceremonial setting was sophisticated enough to establish a musico-liturgical standing about which we know little at present.

Second, school pupils were often the actors in these local devotions. Numerous children not expressly dedicated to music—that is to say most of the young people—were inevitable protagonists of the early modern Catholic sound. Moreover, these children participated, through their singing voices, to the complex web of sensorial and memorial ties on which community consciousness depended.

Finally, this memorial activity articulated individual aspirations to the collective identity at a parochial level. In doing so, the Tridentine paradigm, often described as a vertical and external transmission of new norms, seems inadequate, if not irrelevant, in understanding this practice. Rather, the communities of small towns used schooling foundations to maintain, if not increase, their liturgical ranking according to their own desires and capacities. And because of their daily contribution to the sonorous self-expression of the collective, anonymous children's voices in rural parishes constituted an important aspect of the soundscape of French Early Modern Catholicism.

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Print Culture, Music, and Early Modern Catholicism in Rome

Jane A. Bernstein

In recent years, scholars have reconsidered the place of music in post-Tridentine reforms. The traditional view of a monolithic response to the Council as exhibited in certain works by Ruffo, Palestrina, and others has given way to a broader, more nuanced outlook—one that acknowledges the multiplicity of musical practices that pervaded the Catholic world.¹ Nowhere was this diversity more apparent than in Rome. The dizzying array of musical genres, ranging from liturgical polyphony and simple paraliturgical songs to vocal music in the new monodic style, required book designs different from those found in conventional motet and madrigal publications. Ironically, it is not in Venice, the capital of the music book trade, that we find printers meeting this post-Tridentine challenge, but in the Eternal City, where bookmen most clearly tailored their publications to fit the needs of these various musical idioms.

Rome, unlike Venice, was not a major center of trade and commerce. Bookmen could not compete with their northern Italian counterparts, who, by standardizing printing methods and materials, dominated the international marketplace with their mass-produced products. The Venetians almost always issued music publications as sets of partbooks in quarto format. Thus, composers wishing to have their music printed in the Most Serene Republic had to accept this prevailing ‘one size fits all’ practice. By contrast, Roman printers customized their music publications. Using their ingenuity, they produced music books in a broad array of forms and designs that catered to the demands of their customers.

Over the past few decades, a number of scholars have taken an interest in the field of music printing and print culture in Renaissance Italy. Not surprisingly,

¹ Craig A. Monson was among the first to discuss the greater diversity in sacred music after Trent in “The Council of Trent Revisited”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, 1 (2002) 1–37, and “Renewal, Reform, and Reaction in Catholic Music”, in Haar J. (ed.), *European Music 1520–1640* (Woodbridge – Rochester, NY: 2006) 401–421; Iain Fenlon reiterates this concept in “Varieties of Experience: Music and Reform in Renaissance Italy”, in Brundin A. – Treherne M. (eds.), *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot: 2009) 199–213.

the lion's share of the studies has centered on Venice, where the music printing enterprise got its start. Ottaviano Petrucci, as the first to issue a book of polyphonic music set from movable type, has taken a prominent place,² but the field of inquiry has expanded to other sixteenth-century Venetian printers and publishers, including the two dynastic firms of Gardano and Scotto and the smaller presses of Francesco Rampazetto and Claudio Merulo.³ Music printing in such other Italian centers and regions as Florence, Milan, Ferrara, Umbria, Brescia, and Naples has also been explored.⁴

² Schmid A., *Ottaviano dei Petrucci da Fossombrone, der erster Erfinder des Musiknotendruckes mit beweglichen Metalltypen, und seine Nachfolger im sechzehnten Jahrhunderte* (Vienna: 1845); Sartori C., *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 18 (Florence: 1948); and Boorman S., *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: 2006).

³ Lewis M.S., *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 3 vols. (New York: 1988–2005); Bernstein J.A., *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)* (New York: 1998); eadem, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York: 2001); Agee R.J., “The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century”, Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University: 1982); idem, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Rochester, NY: 1998); Edwards R.A., “Claudio Merulo: Servant of the State and Musical Entrepreneur in Later Sixteenth-Century Venice”, Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University: 1990); Iannotta C., “Francesco Rampazetto, Venetian Printer and a Catalogue of his Music Editions”, M.A. thesis (Tufts University: 1987); and Pompilio A., “Strategie editoriali delle stamperie veneziane tra il 1570 e il 1630”, in idem et al. (eds.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 3 vols. (Turin: 1990) 1, 254–271. See also Bridges T.W., “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals”, Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University: 1982), and Fenlon I., *Music, Print, and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London: 1995).

⁴ Carter T., “Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, Cristofano Marescotti and Zanobi Pignoni”, *Early Music History* 9 (1990) 27–72, and “Music-Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Bookshop of Piero di Giuliano Morosi”, *Music & Letters* 70, 4 (1989) 483–504; both reprinted in idem, *Music, Patronage, and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot: 2000); Donà M., *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all’anno 1700* (Florence: 1961); Fenlon I., “Music and Civic Piety in Counter-Reformation Milan”, in idem, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: 2002) 67–92; Toffetti M., “The Tini Family: Sixteenth-Century Music Printers in Milan”, *Fontes artis musicae* 46 (1999) 244–267; Dennis F., “Music and Print: Book Production and Consumption in Ferrara, 1538–1598”, Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge University: 2002), and Crist B.H., “The ‘Professional Amateur’: Noble Composers, Court Life, and Musical Innovation in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy”, Ph.D. diss. (Yale University: 2004); Guidobaldi N., “Music Publishing in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Umbria”, *Early Music History* 8 (1988) 1–36; Sirci L., “Aspetti dell’editoria musicale bresciana dopo il Concilio di Trento”, *Fonti musicali italiane* 8 (2003) 7–30; and Pompilio A., “Editoria musicale a Napoli e in Italia nel Cinque-Seicento”, in Bianconi L. – Bossa R. (eds.),

By comparison, the Roman music book industry has received much less attention.⁵ This is not surprising given the small number of extant music editions that emanated from the Eternal City—some 250 in all for the entire sixteenth century, in contrast with nearly 3,000 from Venice.⁶ Most of the secondary literature on Roman printing has centered on the first half of the sixteenth century, notably on the figures of Andrea Antico, Valerio Dorico, and Antonio Barré.⁷ Only recently has the post-Tridentine period been examined as archival scholarship has yielded a wealth of information on printers and publishers.⁸ A handful of contextual studies have plumbed primary documents and the music prints themselves in order to elucidate the interrelationships among late sixteenth-century bookmen, musicians, and consumers.⁹

Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XVI al XIX secolo, Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 9 (Florence: 1983) 79–102.

- 5 The topic of Rome will be explored in more detail in my forthcoming book, *Music and Print Culture in Renaissance and Early Modern Rome*.
- 6 The approximate figure for Venice is derived from the total surviving music editions issued from 1500–1599 by the presses of Petrucci, Scotto, Gardano, Merulo, Rampazetto, Vincenti, and Amadino. A list of 175 Roman editions of polyphonic music from 1551–1608 appears in Franchi S., “Stampatori ed editori musicali a Roma dal 1550 al 1608: vicende e osservazioni”, *Recercare* 11 (1999) 5–50, at 16–22. A complete list of all extant music books for the entire century will appear in Bernstein, *Music and Print Culture in Renaissance and Early Modern Rome*.
- 7 Chapman C.W., “Andrea Antico”, Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University: 1964); Cusick S., *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, MI: 1981); Buja M., “Antonio Barré and Music Printing in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Rome”, Ph.D. diss. (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: 1996). See also Cardamone D., “Madrigali a Tre et Arie Napolitane: A Typographical and Repertorial Study”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35, 3 (1982) 436–481.
- 8 Franchi, “Stampatori ed editori musicali a Roma”; Barbieri P., “Music Printers and Booksellers in Rome (1583–1600), with New Documents on Coattino, Diani, Donangeli, Tornieri, and Franzini”, *Recercare* 16 (2004) 71–112; and Spagnuolo V.V., “Gli atti notarili dell’Archivio di Stato di Roma: Saggio di spoglio sistematico: l’anno 1590” in Antolini B.M. – Morelli A. – Spagnuolo V.V. (eds.), *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d’archivio: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 4–7 giugno 1992* (Lucca: 1994) 19–65.
- 9 See my articles, “Publish or Perish: Palestrina and Print Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy”, *Early Music* 35, 2 (2007) 225–236; “The Publishing of Palestrina’s Music in Sixteenth-Century Rome and Venice”, in Rostirolla G. – Soldati S. – Zomparelli E. (eds.), *Palestrina e l’Europa: Atti del III Convegno internazionale di studi (Palestrina, 6–9 ottobre 1994)* (Palestrina: 2006) 1075–1087; and “Marenzio and Music Print Culture in Late Cinquecento Rome and Venice”, in Calcagno M. (ed.), *Perspectives on Luca Marenzio’s Secular Music* (Turnhout: 2014) 375–386.

The present essay broadens the discussion by turning to the materiality of the book and its engagement with the objectives of Early Modern Catholicism. It considers how the explosion of sacred musical genres occurring in the late sixteenth century influenced the music book trade and how, in turn, Roman printers responded in innovative ways by using a remarkably wide assortment of book sizes, typographies, papers, formats, layouts, and even printing processes to create alternative modes of presentation. Their editions then reflect the social and political climate of their city during a dynamic time in church history.

We begin with a book design that, though not new, became a specialty of Roman printers: the large folio volume devoted to liturgical polyphony. Produced throughout the sixteenth century, these publications differed from the standard set of partbooks both in their size and their layout. Instead of a separate book for each singing part, all the voices appeared in a single volume. They were arranged in *cantus lateralis* or choirbook fashion with each voice part occupying a different quadrant of a page opening. The dimensions of these publications as well as the arrangement of vocal parts followed in the tradition of polyphonic manuscripts dating back as early as the thirteenth century. They also made a public statement; by recalling the large chant books that sat on equally large book stands, these printed choirbooks created a visual effect that reflected generations of past practice.

These editions were very expensive to produce for several reasons. For one thing, they required the largest and finest papers available. Typographically, they also called for special music and text typefaces as well as woodcut initials that were much larger than those normally employed for standard quarto editions. Finally, since choirbook layout necessitated page turns by all the voice parts at the same time, a good deal of space on the page was wasted—thus making this design less cost-effective than partbooks. Given their expense, it might seem strange that composers commissioned Roman bookmen to print these huge choirbooks. For church musicians, however, folio liturgical volumes served a dual purpose. First, in imitating deluxe choirbook and chant manuscripts, they served as sumptuous presentation objects for papal and royal patronage. But these publications also had a more practical function. Since they were destined for prestigious cathedrals and court chapels, the size of the music and text fonts as well as the volume itself needed to be large enough for an entire professional choir to sing from a single copy.

The emphasis on printing luxurious choirbooks made sense in a city so dominated by the Church. Over the course of the century, six Roman printers produced nearly thirty of them, approximately fifteen percent of all the

music books issued in the Eternal City.¹⁰ Andrea Antico, a woodblock carver from Istria, issued the first extant folio book of polyphonic music in 1516 with his *Liber quindecim missarum*.¹¹ One of the most influential and most admired sixteenth-century music books, Antico's volume became the model used by subsequent printers aspiring to make similarly imposing impressions. During the mid-sixteenth century, the Dorico firm published at least ten choirbook editions at the behest of such composers as Morales, Palestrina, Animuccia, Rocco Rodio, and Eliseo Ghibel.¹² The tradition continued in the late sixteenth century with folio volumes issued by the presses of Alessandro Gardano and Francesco Coattino, and then Nicolò Muzi.¹³

A highpoint in the Roman production of these special volumes occurred in the early 1580s with a series of eight choirbooks printed at the behest of the Spanish composers, Tomás Luis de Victoria and Francisco Guerrero.¹⁴ They were produced under the auspices of the publisher/entrepreneur, Domenico Basa, with Francesco Zanetti serving as printer of the first three volumes, and Alessandro Gardano and Francesco Coattino for the remaining five.¹⁵ These editions were monumental in every way. First and foremost, they contained a complete corpus of liturgical polyphony that heralded post-Tridentine reforms as practiced specifically on the Iberian peninsula. Nearly triple the size of the

¹⁰ For more on Roman choirbook editions see my article, "Made to Order: the Production of Choirbooks in Cinquecento Rome", in Filocamo G. – Bloxam M.J. – Holford-Strevens L. (eds.), *'Uno gentile et subtile ingenio': Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie Blackburn* (Turnhout: 2009) 669–676. On choirbooks and the concept of authorship, see Van Orden K., *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley: 2013) 30–68.

¹¹ A detailed study of the *Liber quindecim missarum* appears in Chapman, "Andrea Antico" 50–69.

¹² On the relationship of Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* to Dorico's choirbook publications, see Cusick, *Valerio Dorico* 67–74.

¹³ On the Gardano and Coattino press, see Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, and Barbieri, "Music Printers" 75–77; on Muzi, see Franchi, "Stampatori" 44–46.

¹⁴ The eight editions are Victoria, *Hymni totius anni* (1581); Victoria, *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat* (1581); Guerrero, *Missarum liber secundus* (1582); Victoria, *Missarum libri duo* (1583); Guerrero, *Liber vesperarum* (1584); Guerrero, *Passio secundum Matthaeum et Joannem* (1585); Victoria, *Motecta festorum totius anni* (1585); and Victoria, *Officium hebdomadae sanctae* (1585).

¹⁵ For Basa's biography, see Cioni A., "Domenico Basa", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 7 (Rome: 1965) 45–49, online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-basa_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-basa_(Dizionario-Biografico).). On the Zanetti printing dynasty, see Franchi S., *Le impressioni sceniche: dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800* (Rome: 1994) 780–799.

standard quarto partbook, they were among the largest books of polyphonic music printed in the sixteenth century.¹⁶

In general, Roman printers issued choirbook editions in folio format, using large, expensive royal or even imperial papers.¹⁷ As mentioned previously, the large size of these editions was required for use by professional singers in cathedral choirs, who would all sing from a single book. Ecclesiastical institutions on the Iberian peninsula, however, demanded choirbooks of a monumental size that went beyond the royal folio typically employed for publications by Italian and northern European composers. Musical manuscripts, printed editions, archival documents, and even music stands that survive in Spanish and Portuguese cathedrals attest to the use of such super-sized music books.¹⁸ Primary documents confirm Spanish scribes' practice of recopying music from conventional folio publications into choirbook manuscripts of even larger proportions, as observed at Toledo and Seville Cathedrals.¹⁹

Averaging approximately 55 × 38.5 cm, the dimensions of Victoria's and Guerrero's choirbooks greatly exceeded those of typical folio publications.²⁰ In order to create these monumental books, Basa and his printers used expensive royal size paper, but because the size of *carta realle* in folio was too small for

¹⁶ For a more detailed study of these choirbooks see my unpublished paper, "Size Matters: Spanish Choirbooks, the Roman Press, and Post-Tridentine Reforms" (presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, San Diego, 3–6 April, 2013).

¹⁷ Paper sizes are generally described in four sizes in descending order: *carta imperiale*, *carta realle*, *carta meçane*, and *carta reçute*. Towards the end of the century, another even larger size paper, *carta papale* was used mainly in Rome. The four sizes are discussed among other places in Briquet C., *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1907) 1, 2–3; Gasparinetti A.F., "Notes on Early Italian Papermaking", *The Paper Maker* 27 (1958) 25–32; Gaskell P., *New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: 1972) 67; and Landau D. – Parshall P., *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven: 1994) 16. *Carta papale* is discussed by Gasparinetti, "Notes" 30, and documented in Ehrle F., *Roma prima di Sisto V: la pianta Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577* (Rome: 1908) 50, as cited by Bury M., *The Print in Italy 1550–1620* (London: 2001) 48.

¹⁸ Huge music stands are still found in such Iberian cathedrals as Segovia, El Escorial, Evora, and Seville, to name a few. For an example of a music manuscript written by a papal scribe specifically intended for a Spanish cathedral, see Wojcicka-Hruza L., "A Manuscript Source for Magnificats by Victoria", *Early Music* 25, 1 (1997) 83–98.

¹⁹ On recopying of music prints to larger-size manuscript books, see Noone M.J., "Printed Polyphony Acquired by Toledo cathedral, 1532–1669", in Fenlon I. – Knighton T. (eds.), *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel: 2006) 241–274, and Borgerding T., "The Motet and Spanish Religiosity ca 1550–1610", Ph.D. diss. (University of Michigan: 1997) 98–99.

²⁰ The dimensions of typical folio choirbook editions averaged about 34 × 28.5 cm.

the Spanish market, they changed the format to broadsheet; that is, instead of folding the paper once as customary in folio, the printers used the entire sheet of paper for each leaf of the book.²¹

In addition to the paper, the music and text fonts in these editions had to be oversized. With staff and minim measuring nearly 20 mm in height, the elegant typeface created by the great French type designer, Robert Granjon, was among the largest devised for mensural music in the sixteenth century [Fig. 6.1].²² It was just a shade smaller in its dimensions than the music font used by the Antwerp printer, Christophe Plantin for his sumptuous edition of Georges de la Hèle's *Octo missae* of 1578.²³ Victoria carefully pointed out the extraordinary size of the Granjon music typeface in a letter to the Seville Cathedral chapter accompanying his two 1581 editions of hymns and Magnificats: 'I believe that you will be pleased with these publications, because although there are many singers in your cathedral the notes are *large enough for all to read* [italics mine].'²⁴

While choirbook layout is generally associated with editions of liturgical polyphony targeted for elite ecclesiastical institutions, this single-volume book design, though much more modestly sized, also proved ideal for the transmission of a totally different musical idiom: the *lauda spirituale*. These simple homophonic, paraliturgical works surged in popularity in mid-century Rome. The charismatic reformer, Filippo Neri promoted singing *laude* in the informal services of his Congregation of the Oratory, which sponsored the publication

²¹ On broadsheet and other book formats, see Gaskell, *Bibliography* 80–106.

²² Vervliet H.D.L., "Cyrillic & Oriental Typography in Rome at the End of the Sixteenth Century: an Inquiry into the Later Work of Robert Granjon; 1578–1590", in *idem, The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 2008) II, 433–480, at 467, Fig. 10b.

²³ Designed by Hendrik van den Keere in 1576–1577, the Plantin music typeface was named in the Antwerp firm's Folio specimen of c.1585 as 'Grande Musicque'. For more on this font see Parker M. – Melis K. – Vervliet H.D.L., "Typographica Plantiniana II: Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices, and Molds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives", *De Gulden Passer* 38 (1960) 1–139, at 74 ('ST 61') and 78 ('MA 93'). This typeface is reproduced in its original dimensions in Vervliet H.D.L., *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: 1968) 335, and Heartz D., *Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: 1969), plate 15.

²⁴ 'Creo agradará a V. S. la impresión, porque aunque aya muchos cantores en esa Santa Yglesia, es bastante punto para todos': Victoria Tomás Luis de, *Cartas* (1582–1606), ed. A. de Vicente (Madrid: 2008) 54–57. The letter, transcription, and English translation also appear in Stevenson R., "Tomás Luis de Victoria (ca. 1548–1611): Unique Spanish Genius", *Inter-American Music Review* 12 (1991) 1–100, at 20–22.



FIGURE 6.1 *Music typeface by Robert Granjon, Rome, 1581–1585.*

of a dozen or so editions over a forty-year period.²⁵ Giovanni Animuccia, papal musician and close associate of Neri, had the first two books of his own *laude* printed in 1563 and 1570 by Valerio Dorico and the heirs of Antonio Blado, respectively. They followed the standard quarto partbooks design, but in 1577, six years after Animuccia's death, the size and format had changed with the third book in the series. Brought out by the Blado press, the *terzo libro* was printed as a diminutive, single upright octavo volume with vocal parts arranged on the page in choirbook fashion [Fig. 8.4]. The use of this layout continued for a second series of five *laude* editions issued from 1583 to 1591 by Alessandro Gardano and Francesco Coattino with an enlarged book size in quarto format [Fig. 6.2].

These relatively cheap, unpretentious books proved ideal for use in the Congregation's devotional exercises, where two or perhaps three people shared

²⁵ There are several recent studies on the Roman *laude*, among them Smither H.E., *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill: 1977); Morelli A., 'Il tempio armonico': *musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, *Analecta Musicologica* 27 (Laaber: 1991); Rostirolla G., "La musica a Roma al tempo del cardinal Baronio: L'oratorio e la produzione laudistica in ambiente romano", in Borromeo A. et al. (eds.), *Baronio e l'arte: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sora, 10–13 ottobre 1984* (Sora: 1985) 573–771, reprinted in idem – Zardin D. – Mischiati O., *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento: Poesie e canti devozionali nell'Italia della Controriforma*, ed. G. Filippi et al. (Rome: 2001) 1–210; Schmidt L., *Die römische Lauda und die Verchristlichung von Musik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: 2003); Østrem E. – Petersen N.H., *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: 2008); and Piéjus A., *Musique et dévotion à Rome à la fin de la Renaissance: Les laudes de l'Oratoire* (Turnhout: 2013). See also Piéjus's chapter in this volume.

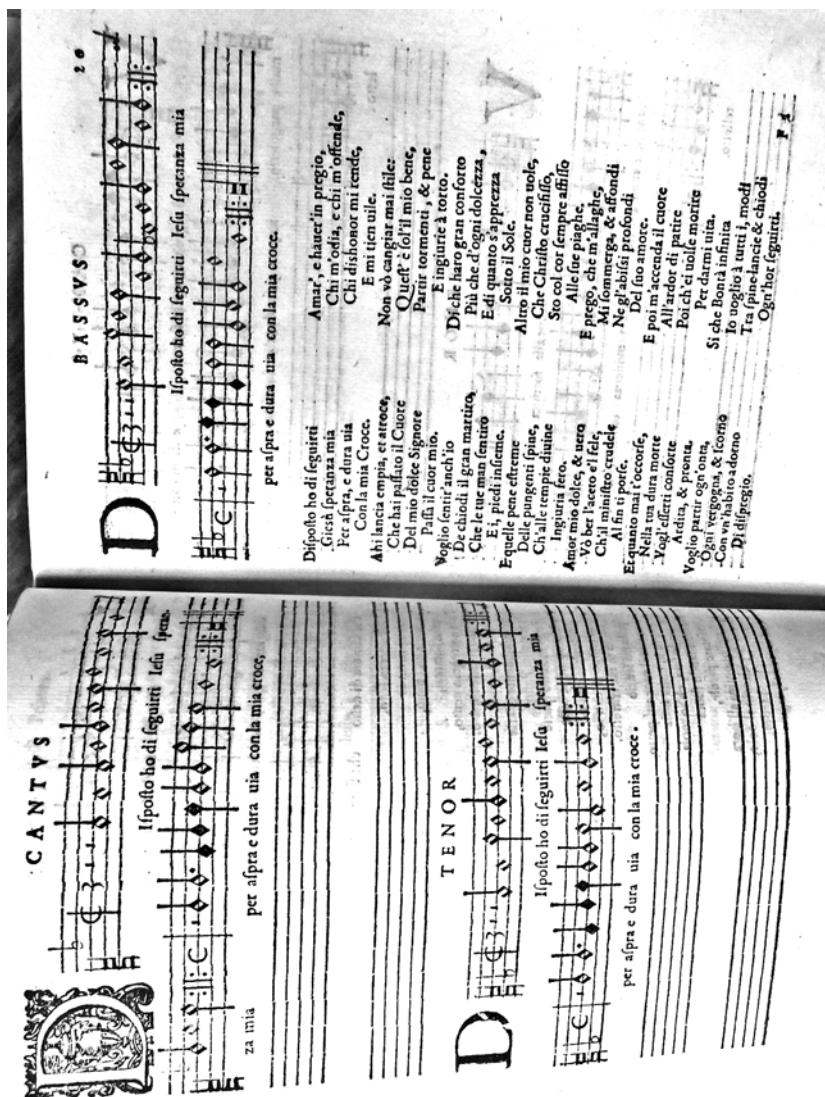


FIGURE 6.2 Il primo libro delle laude spirituali a tre voci (*Rome, Alessandro Gardano: 1583*), no. 20, *Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 246(1)*). COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA VALLICELLIANA AND THE MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI, ROME, ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

a single copy. Each of these brief three-voice works along with its additional stanzas of text easily (and economically) fit on one page opening. One could imagine that it was easier for amateurs to follow the music if all the parts were printed on the same page. Those who did not read music (but knew the familiar tune) could sing along reading the text printed on the recto page.

Even more versatile were Simone Verovio's Roman anthologies of another devotional genre connected with Neri's Congregation, the *canzonetta spirituale*. Verovio, unlike other printers, was a calligrapher and *intagliatore* and as such employed the entirely different printing technique of copper-plate engraving for all his publications.²⁶ Engraving was an intaglio process in which lines and musical notes were incised onto the copper plate.²⁷ Thought of as a graphic art form, it was primarily employed throughout the sixteenth century for maps, single-sheet figurative prints, and book illustrations.²⁸ It was not until the early 1570s that engraving caught on in Italy as a printing method for the transmission of texts when it was used for writing manuals.²⁹ Verovio, who, as a calligrapher, published a few handwriting books, became the first printer to employ the intaglio process successfully for the printing of polyphonic music. This technology allowed him to be quite inventive in the layouts and designs of his books, since he could print literally anything that could be incised into copper. His music publications reveal an array of notations, calling for a variety of performance forces, all of which appeared within a single edition. Not only

²⁶ On Verovio's biography see Casimiri R., "Simone Verovio da Hertogenbosch", *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 10 (1933) 189–199; idem, "Simone Verovio: Aggiunte", *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 11 (1934) 66–67; Franchi, "Stampatori" 46; and Barbieri, "Music Printers" 69 n. 2.

²⁷ For an explanation of the process see Hind A.M., *A History of Engraving and Etching from the 15th century to the year 1914*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York: 1963); Verner C., "Copperplate Printing", in Woodward D. (ed.), *Five Centuries of Map Printing* (Chicago: 1975) 50–70; and Landau – Parshall, *Renaissance Print* 23–30.

²⁸ For a history of the sixteenth-century Italian print, see Landau – Parshall, *Renaissance Print*; Bury, *The Print in Italy*; Lincoln E., *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: 2000); and Witcombe C.L.C.E., *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder* (London: 2008).

²⁹ The first completely engraved Italian manual of calligraphy, Giulantonio Herculani's *Esemplare utile di tutte le sorti di l[ette]re cancellaresche correntissime*, was printed in Bologna probably in 1571. On writing-books, see Morison S., *Early Italian Writing-Books: Renaissance to Baroque*, ed. N. Barker (London: 1990); Johnson A.F., "A Catalogue of Italian Writing Books in the Sixteenth Century", *Signature* n.s. 10 (1950) 22–48, reprinted in idem, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing*, ed. P.H. Muir (Amsterdam: 1970) 18–40; and Osley A.S., *Luminario: An Introduction to the Italian Writing-Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Nieuwkoop: 1972).

were the vocal parts set on the same page opening, but different instrumental intabulations were incised on the same copper plate as the vocal parts. This resourcefulness can be seen in the organization of Verovio's 1591 *Canzonette a quattro voci*, where the voices are laid out in choirbook fashion on the top of two facing pages with arrangements for keyboard and lute directly underneath [Fig. 6.3].

The engraving process enabled Verovio to transmit these paraliturgical songs in different presentational modes, making them ideal for performance at public services, for recreational use in private settings, and for acts of individual devotion. They could be performed as partsongs, solo songs with or without instrumental accompaniment, or as solo instrumental works. Giovenale Ancina in the dedication to his 1599 *Tempio armonico*, for example, suggests to his patron, Geronima Colonna, Duchess of Monteleone that *laude* could be sung to the accompaniment of the lyre or played in solo performance on the harp.³⁰

Choirbook arrangement worked well for both complicated liturgical polyphony and simple devotional songs, but by the turn of the century musical genres influenced by the new recitative style required a completely different sort of layout and typography. One of these idioms was the highly embellished *falsobordone* intended mainly for psalm singing at Vespers. From 1601 to 1603, Giovanni Luca Conforti, a renowned falsettist in the papal chapel, had the firm of Nicolò Muzi print a three-volume series, *Salmi passaggiati sopra tutti i toni che ordinariamente canta Santa Chiesa*, which presented a repertory of embellished psalms and Magnificat settings for soprano, tenor, and bass soloists.³¹

In issuing the *Salmi*, Conforti faced the problem of how his *passaggi* were to be printed using moveable type. These sacred monodies, the earliest to be published, called for open-score layout, which turned out to be challenging to print, since it necessitated greater skill and time on the part of the compositor to set and vertically align the music and text of the vocal part with the accompanying basso continuo. Even more significant for Conforti was the

³⁰ 'Puotrà anco V. E., quando così le piaccia, o torni più commodo per sua più semplice e più domestica ricreazione, sentirle cantar a suon di lira dolce e soave, toccata dal gentilissimo Signor Antonio Messia Musico eccellente, qual nuovo Orfeo de' nostri tempi: o pur (quel che sarà di tutto 'l meglio) chiamarsi tal volta il Signor Giovan Leonardo dell'Arpa': Ancina Giovenale, *Tempio armonico* (Rome, Nicolò Muzi: 1599), canto partbook, fol. 4v.

³¹ For a modern edition see Conforti Giovanni Luca, *Salmi passaggiati* (1601–1603), ed. M.C. Bradshaw (Neuhausen – Stuttgart: 1985).

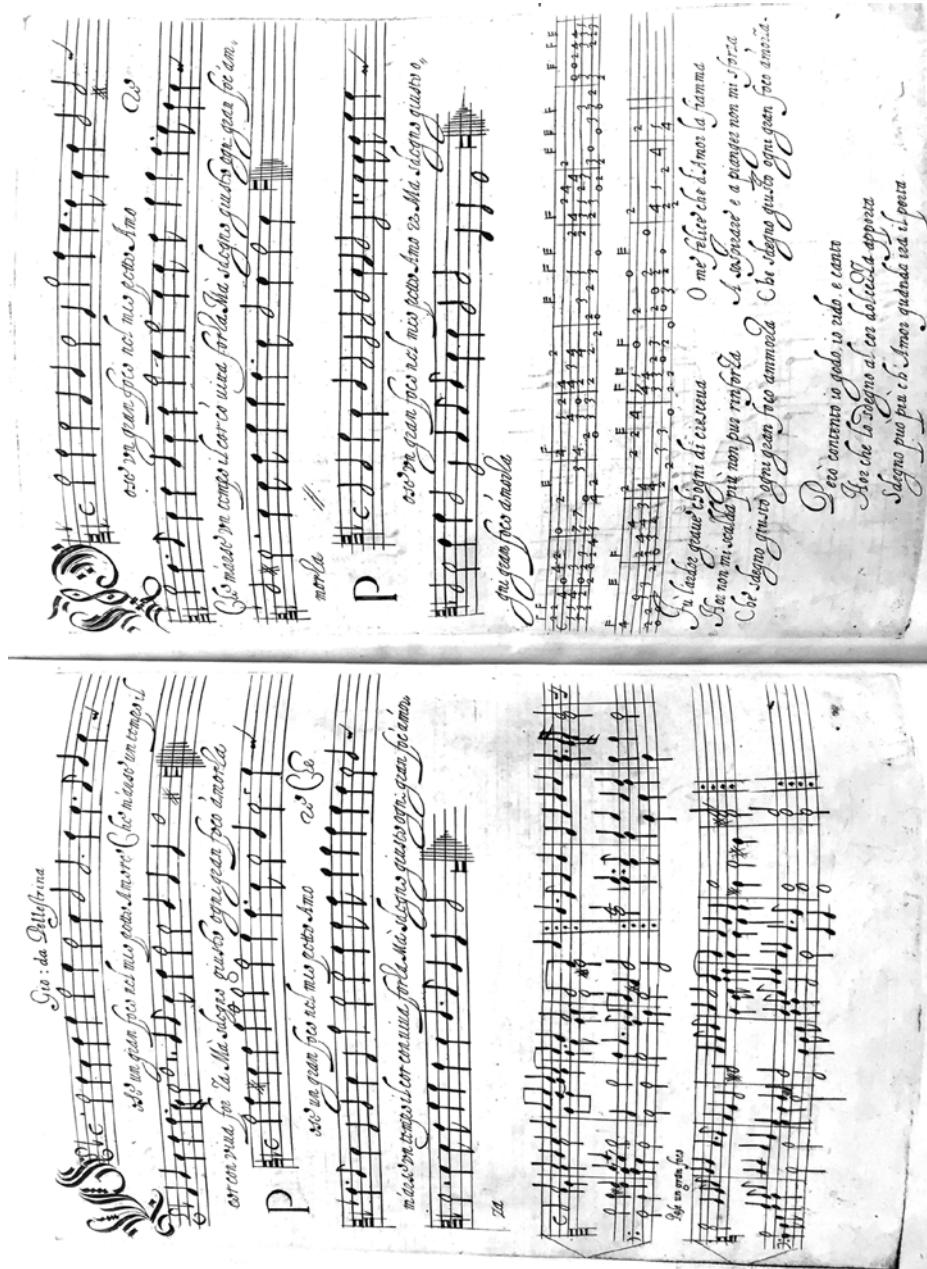


FIGURE 6.3 Canzonette a quattro voci (*Rome, Verovio: 1591*), fol. 91-ior. Harvard University, Houghton Library, M.1999 V5 C3 1591.

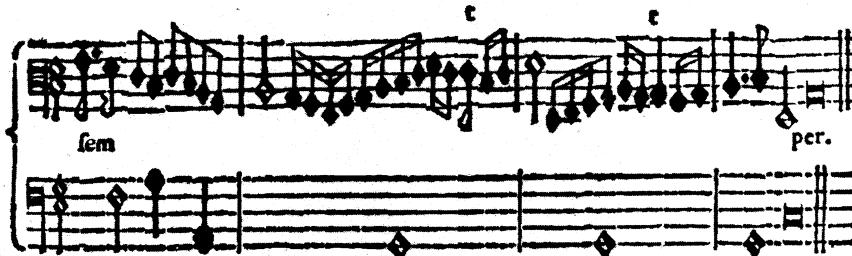


FIGURE 6.4 *Music typeface with beamed notation used in Giovanni Luca Conforti, Salmi passaggiati sopra tutti i toni (Rome, Heredi di Nicolò Muzi: 1601–1603).*

representation of his highly ornamental vocal lines using conventional musical type.³² Unlike the simpler melodic lines found in traditional polyphony, this new monodic style required an expanded music type font that included shorter note values, ties, and slurs. Moreover, grouping notes together was clearly an issue with single-impression letter press printing, since pieces of type with their individual note heads and separate flags could not be beamed, making florid music difficult to read.³³

As it stood, it was impossible for Muzi's firm—or any other press—to print beamed notes with the music fonts in use at that time. So presumably at the request of Conforti, the Roman printer had a new kind of music typeface created, one that would allow for the beaming of notes. The type designer ingeniously devised a single piece of type that contained not one note, but a group of two or four notes beamed together [Fig. 6.4]. A whole set of these type pieces was custom-made for this edition. The type pieces consisted of *crome* and *semicrome* (eighth- and sixteenth-note) melodic patterns made up of scalar figures and turns ending or beginning with a third. The papal singer points out this innovative feature in his prefatory note to the reader, where he declares: 'I have barred the embellishments and beamed notes together so that all those

³² On vocal ornamentation in Conforti's editions, see Bradshaw M.C., "Giovanni Luca Conforti and Vocal Embellishment: From Formula to Artful Improvisation", *Performance Practice Review* 8, 1 (1995) 5–27, <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/ppr/vol8/iss1/3>.

³³ Carter T., "Printing the New Music", in Van Orden K. (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York: 2000) 3–38.

difficulties that might arise in singing or in practice are made easier if not completely alleviated'.³⁴

Of all Roman music publications, Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo* was by far the most innovative and extravagant music edition printed up to that time. Much has been written about the place of this music drama with regard to the history of opera, oratorio, and the new recitative style.³⁵ But other important aspects of this landmark work have been overlooked, in particular the novelty of the published edition and the print medium's importance as a tool to herald the significant elements of the production and spectacle.

Like the *laude* publications discussed previously, Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione* was composed for the Congregation of the Oratory. Printed in 1600 by Nicolò Muzi, the work served as the musical/theatrical highpoint for the Jubilee Year, a significant time that also coincided with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the official recognition of the Congregation and the fifth anniversary of the death of its founder, Filippo Neri. As a commemorative volume, the printed edition had to contain everything connected with this important event. No music book of this complexity had ever been published. Besides the full musical score, the publication included the complete text of the libretto as well as a series of prefaces with detailed instructions on stage production.

Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione* can be understood as a radical breakthrough in the history of the book. First and foremost is its status as the earliest completely texted vocal edition in open-score layout printed from moveable type. It is also the first music edition to include a complete basso continuo with

34 'Ho poi ridotti i passaggi di casella in casella, e fatto anco far la material di queste note così legate in un pezzo, se non per levare in tutto, almeno per facilitar le difficoltà che nel cantare, essercitandole, potrebbono nascere'. English translation from Bradshaw, *Salmi passaggiati* xci.

35 There is a substantial number of secondary sources on the Cavalieri work, among the more recent, Kirkendale W., *Emilio de' Cavalieri 'gentiluomo romano': His Life and Letters, His Role as Superintendent of All the Arts at the Medici Court, and His Musical Compositions* (Florence: 2001); Morelli A., "The Chiesa Nuova in Rome around 1600: Music for the Church, Music for the Oratory", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 9 (2003), <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v9/no1/morelli.html>; Casolari S., "Allegorie nella *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600): testo e imagine", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 33 (1998) 7–40; Szwejkowska A. – Szwejkowski Z., "Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo – Emilio de' Cavalieri's Music for the Stage", *Musica Iagellonica* 3 (2004) 103–154. For a modern edition see Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rappresentazione di anima, et di corpo* (1600), ed. M.C. Bradshaw (Middleton, WI: 2007).

indications for figures and accidentals and, from a typographical point of view, the earliest music publication to contain bracketed systems, which we take for granted today.

Generally speaking, open score or *partitura* notation appeared in relatively few editions before this time, mainly because of the difficulty and expense of printing them from moveable type. Score layout was utilized for musical examples in some theoretical treatises.³⁶ Later in the century, it appeared in keyboard editions.³⁷ Some of these open-score publications were intended for solo performance or, as one title page notes, ‘to study the counterpoint’.³⁸ Another sort of keyboard publication using *partitura* notation appeared at the end of the century. These were ‘pre-continuo’ organ accompaniments that included untexted versions of the vocal parts in reduced or full score.³⁹ By comparison, the *Rappresentazione* was much more complicated to print, since it had to include complete text underlay for each of the vocal parts.

A work of this magnitude required a book design with larger dimensions than those found in standard quarto and even folio volumes. Muzi chose to print the Cavalieri edition in broadsheet format, just as Domenico Basa had done some twenty years before with the monumental Spanish choirbooks.⁴⁰ By using an entire sheet of paper for each leaf of the book, Muzi gained a great deal of flexibility in the layout of the full score, in particular in the number of staves per page, which averaged fifteen but could go up to twenty, depending

³⁶ Owens J.A., *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition, 1450–1600* (New York: 1997) 42–45.

³⁷ The earliest extant edition in open-score notation for keyboard performance is Rocco Rodio’s *Libro di ricercate a quattro voci [...] con alcune fantasie sopra vari canti fermi* printed in Naples in 1575. Two years later, the Venetian printer Angelo Gardano issued two open-score editions, one containing Janequin’s famous programmatic chansons (*Musica de diversi autori. La bataglia francese et canzon dell ucelli insieme alcune canzoni francese, partite in caselle per sonar d’istromento perfetto*) and the other, Rore’s four-voice madrigals (*Tutti i madrigali di Cipriano di Rore a quattro voci, spartiti et accommodati per sonar d’ogni sorte d’istumento perfetto, & per qualunque studioso di contrapunti*). On early keyboard scores see Ladewig J., “The Use of Open Score as a Solo Keyboard Notation in Italy ca. 1530–1714”, in Arias E.A. et al. (eds.), *A Compendium of American Musicology: Essays in Honor of John F. Ohl* (Evanston, IL: 2001) 75–91.

³⁸ ‘& per qualunque studioso di contrapunti’ as specified on the title page of the 1577 edition of Rore’s madrigals.

³⁹ Horsley I., “Full and Short Scores in the Accompaniment of Italian Church Music in the Early Baroque”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30, 3 (1977) 466–499.

⁴⁰ The dimensions of 45.4 × 32.2 cm of the copy in Rome, Conservatorio di Musica ‘Santa Cecilia’, indicate that Muzi used common *mécane* paper instead of the more expensive large royal size paper employed in the earlier Spanish choirbook publications.

on the musical forces used.⁴¹ Other editions of early operas were smaller in size; published in royal folio, they could only accommodate a maximum of twelve staves per page.⁴²

Most significant, though, was the novelty of its contents and the inventiveness of its presentation. Unlike the early operas of the Florentines, as a major theatrical work, the *Rappresentazione* embraced a wide variety of performing groups ranging from vocal solos, duets, and trios to choruses and instrumental ritornelli, all of which alternated in quick succession. The representation of these diverse forces in open-score notation necessitated an intricate layout comprised of various combinations of systems that would change within each page of the book. Furthermore, the volume included with remarkable accuracy every detail of the theatrical work. Thus this edition stands out in its materiality as a visual *tour de force* that surpassed all the music publications of its time.

On the whole, Roman bookmen shaped their publications in forms that fit the functions of an array of post-Tridentine sacred musical idioms. As ‘boutique’ printers, they offered their clients customized consumer goods that Venetian presses either could not or did not wish to provide. In their innovative approaches to the challenges of post-Tridentine sacred music, the presses of Dorico, Blado, Basa, Gardano and Coattino, Verovio, and Muzi created a virtuoso exhibition of works—one that not only placed them in the technological forefront of the printing world but also matched the diversity of expression that characterized sacred music in early modern Rome.

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⁴¹ For a reduced facsimile of the edition, see Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rappresentazione di anima, et di corpo* (Farnborough: 1967) and *Rappresentazione di anima, et di corpo*, Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis IV/1 (Bologna: 1987). Two pages (iv and v) from the work are reproduced as figure III-2 in Smither, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era* 84–85.

⁴² By comparison, the dimensions of surviving copies of Caccini's *Euridice* (Florence, Marescotti: 1600) and Peri's *Le Musiche sopra L'Euridice* (Florence, Marescotti: 1600/1601) average 33 × 21.5 cm, inferring that they too were printed on *meçane* paper.

- Bernstein J.A., "Made to Order: the Production of Choirbooks in Cinquecento Rome", in Filocamo G. – Bloxam M.J. – Holford-Strevens L. (eds.), *'Uno gentile et subtile ingenio': Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie Blackburn* (Turnhout: 2009) 669–676.
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‘Catechismum modulans docebat’: Teaching the Doctrine through Singing in Early Modern Catholicism

Daniele V. Filippi

The practice of teaching through song is probably as old as humanity, and was certainly widespread in pre-modern societies.¹ As for the early modern period, a comprehensive reflection regarding this phenomenon and all of its implications is still wanting; research based on a growing body of evidence suggests, however, that singing was often strictly connected with the teaching of reading and writing,² and that these three practices (singing, reading, and writing) were functionally associated within catechesis. Primers and other documents attest to this: in Spain and Portugal there were the *cartillas* and *cartinhas*, booklets that contained the alphabet and lists of syllables ('ba, be, bi, bo, bu...'), the main prayers, formulae for confession, some instructional texts, and the '*dotrina cristiana que se canta*', the Christian doctrine to be sung.³ Kate van Orden has studied the case of France, and has examined pamphlets such as '*Le ABC des Chrestiens*' and the '*Croix de par Dieu*'.⁴ In Italy, the most popular

¹ For Antiquity, see for instance Gordley M.E., *Teaching through Song in Antiquity: Didactic Hymnody Among Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians* (Tübingen: 2011), which however, *caveat lector*, is characterized by a chiefly literary and content-oriented perspective, without any interest in the concrete, sonic practices.

² An ongoing interdisciplinary research project, 'Cantus Scholarum' directed by Xavier Bisaro at the CESR (Tours, France), will shed further light on this aspect, especially in French parish schools (see <http://www.cantus-scholarum.univ-tours.fr>). See also Bisaro's chapter in this volume. Yet singing played a further role in less formal teaching situations: see, for instance, an interesting example of the educational use of '*romançes y cosas sentenciosas*' at the Spanish court in Robledo Estaire L., "La transformación de la actividad musical en la corte de Felipe III", in De Vicente A. – Tomás P. (eds.), *Tomás Luis de Victoria y la cultura musical en la España de Felipe III* (Madrid: 2012) 93–122, at 98–99. To say nothing of the educational-informational role of broadside ballads, news-songs, and related genres.

³ See Infantes V., *De las primeras letras: cartillas españolas para enseñar a leer de los siglos XV y XVI* (Salamanca: 1998) 35–45, and the attached facsimiles.

⁴ Van Orden K., "Children's Voices: Singing and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century France", *Early Music History* 25, 1 (2006) 209–256. See also Reinburg V., *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400–1600* (Cambridge – New York: 2012) 103–108.

primers, as described by Paul Grendler, were similar in content to the Spanish *cartillas*; they included the sign of the Cross, the alphabet, the main prayers, and a catechism with numbered lists.⁵ In England there were such equivalent materials as *The Christian's ABC*,⁶ and, pending further research, it seems very likely that comparable methods were followed in other European countries.

In a recent article, I have shown how the method of teaching catechism through singing functioned and how, after its origin in late fifteenth-century Spain, it was exported, adapted, and developed in different locales, especially by the Society of Jesus, during the entire early modern era.⁷ In what follows, I briefly summarize the essential mechanics of the method and then, in line with the concept of this book, I discuss how the study of this 'unusual' repertoire⁸ (marginal as it is to the contemporary developments of high music)⁹ may illuminate certain problems of Early Modern Catholicism, and in general invite us, as musicologists and scholars of other disciplines, to broaden both the geographical and the chronological scope of our analyses.

The doctrine was condensed into uncomplicated formulae (in metrical or quasi-metrical verse), set to simple tunes, and taught by means of repetition,

5 See Grendler P.F., "Fifteenth-Century Catechesis, the Schools of Christian Doctrine, and the Jesuits", *Studia Borromaeica* 26 (2012) 291–319, at 304: 'The catechisms of the Schools of Christian Doctrine built on reading primers. The *Summario*, one of the two basic texts of the Schools of Christian Doctrine, was simply an expansion of the traditional primer, often called *La Santa Croce*, used across Italy. The *Summario* listed the material to be read and/or memorized. Like primers, it began with a cross signifying the sign of the cross, followed by letters of the alphabet, then the words of the sign of the cross. Next came the Our Father and Hail Mary. After the Apostles' Creed came the Salve Regina, a prayer to Mary. Only then did the *Summario* turn to the Ten Commandments, the four cardinal virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven works of mercy, and so on'. See also idem, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: 1989) 343–345.

6 See Green I., *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530–1740* (Oxford – New York: 1996).

7 See Filippi D.V., "A Sound Doctrine: Early Modern Jesuits and the Singing of the Catechism", *Early Music History* 34 (2015) 1–43.

8 Kennedy T.F., "Some Unusual Genres of Sacred Music in the Early Modern Period: The Catechism as a Musical Event in the Late Renaissance—Jesuits and 'Our Way of Proceeding'", in Comerford K.M. – Pabel H.M. (eds.), *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.* (Toronto: 2001) 266–279.

9 Even though there are points of contact that would deserve to be explored: notably the Italian *lauda* and other devotional genres which presented a variety of contexts, uses, and performing situations, reaching across social and cultural divides.

in a mix of dialogue, recitation, and singing. Typically, in the earliest examples,¹⁰ the principal elements were, in this order, the sign of the cross, the four main prayers (Ave, Pater, Salve, Credo), the fourteen articles of faith (corresponding to the Apostles' Creed), the ten commandments, the five precepts of the Church, the seven sacraments, the seven corporal and seven spiritual works of mercy, the five corporeal senses, the seven mortal sins and their contrary virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the eight evangelical beatitudes, and so on.

Contemporary documents are very clear about the advantages of this method in terms of helping the memorization of contents (thanks to numbered lists, verse, and tunes), involving the learners, and adding an entertaining dimension to the learning experience. The three following passages from Jesuit authors working in three different countries will suffice.

Diego de Ledesma (1524–1575), a prominent theologian, pedagogue, and rector of the Collegio Romano, wrote in his influential booklet *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana* (Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1573):¹¹

senza queste rime e canzoni si procede freddamente nella Dottrina, e con assai manco frutto, come per esperienza si vede.

without these verses and songs, the teaching of the Doctrine is cold and much less fruitful, as we know by experience.¹²

¹⁰ See, for instance, the *Cartilla para mostrar a leer a los moços. Con la doctrina christiana que se canta amados hermanos* (Toledo: c.1526), the first printed document relative to this practice. Partially edited in Sánchez Herrero J., “La enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana en algunas diócesis de León y Castilla durante los siglos XIV y XV”, *Archivos Leoneses: revista de estudios y documentación de los Reinos Hispano-Occidentales* 59 (1976) 177–183. See especially Infantes, *De las primeras letras* 72–77, with full-size facsimile in attachment. A reproduction is now available online in the digital collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which holds the only extant copy of the *cartilla*: see <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/ooo4/bsb00043561/images/>.

¹¹ At 17v. On Ledesma see Aranci G., “Le ‘dottrine’ di Giacomo Ledesma S.J. (1524–1575)”, *Salesianum* 53 (1991) 315–382; Lukács L., “Ledesma, Diego de”, in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* (Rome – Madrid: 2001) III, 2318–2319; Rostirolla G., “Laudi e canti religiosi per l'esercizio spirituale della Dottrina cristiana al tempo di Roberto Bellarmino”, in Rostirolla G. – Zardin D. – Mischiati O., *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento: Poesie e canti devozionali nell'Italia della Controriforma*, ed. G. Filippi et al. (Rome: 2001) 275–472, at 291–314; O'Regan N., “Music, Memory, and Faith: How Did Singing in Latin and the Vernacular Influence What People Knew about Their Faith in Early Modern Rome?”, *The Italianist* 34, 3 (2014) 437–448; and O'Regan's chapter in this volume.

¹² All translations into English are mine except where otherwise stated.

In a letter of 1586, Claudio Marchal, a Jesuit then active near Fulda, in Hesse, Germany, reported to the General of the Society, Claudio Acquaviva:

Was man vor einem Jahre für wenig möglich hielt, ist nun ganz anders ausgefallen. Schon in elf Dörfern geben die Unsrigen jeden Sonntag Katechismusunterricht und wunderbar sind die Dienste, welche das Absingen des Katechismus dabei leistet. Ich hatte mich mit nur wenigen Knaben vom Lande fast ein ganzes Jahr abgemüht, kaum das Vater unser hatten sie gelernt. Jetzt aber prägen sie sich durch Singen das Glaubensbekenntnis und die zehn Gebote in wenigen Stunden exakt ein.¹³

What one considered unlikely one year ago, is now completely different. Our [people] already teach catechism classes every Sunday in eleven villages and it is amazing how helpful it is to sing and repeat the catechism. I have worked hard with just a few local boys for almost an entire year; yet they have hardly learnt the Lord's Prayer. But now, through singing, they memorize exactly the Profession of Faith and the Ten Commandments in a few hours.

In turn, Blessed Julien Maunoir (1606–1683), who famously missionized Brittany,¹⁴ stated in a retrospective report addressed to the General (this time Giovanni Paolo Oliva) in 1672:

[referring to the year 1640:] We established, for the feast days, a *cantique* in the vernacular on the Commandments of God. That way it was easier for the people to memorize them. This practice delighted the people and they no longer wanted to sing almost anything else.

[year 1641:] Thereafter, we started to sing some *cantiques* in Breton verse which confirmed our teachings. On land and sea, everybody was charmed by this innovation, and they needed fewer than three weeks to memorize perfectly the Christian doctrine.

¹³ From Duhr B., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vol. 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1907) 459.

¹⁴ See Pérennès H., "Quelques auteurs de cantiques bretons: le vénérable Père Maunoir", *Diocèse de Quimper & de Léon – Bulletin diocésain d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* (1925) 87–96; Launay D., *La musique religieuse en France du Concile de Trente à 1804* (Paris: 1993) 382–392; Dompnier B., "Les cantiques dans la pastorale missionnaire en France au XVII^e siècle", in Nanni S. (ed.), *La musica dei semplici: L'altra Controriforma* (Rome: 2012) 73–106, at 74–76 (with up-to-date literature).

[year 1642:] Many people of various ages told us that, by singing or listening to our spiritual songs, they had learned more about the principles of Christian living in eight days than they had in a lifetime.¹⁵

If the basic principles remained substantially constant, the method was flexible enough to adjust to local conditions: in rural areas it could be based mainly on formulaic recitative tones and insistent strophic repetitions, while in urban contexts it could produce a more elaborated repertoire, open to diverse performing solutions such as those involving polyphonic rendition and instrumental accompaniment.

As previously stated, the sung catechism intersects in thought-provoking ways with several crucial aspects of Early Modern Catholicism. Here I will consider five of these aspects: the importance of (real and intertextual) networks; the public dimension of catechesis; the role of sound in interconfessional encounters; the interplay between missionary experiences in Europe and those in extra-European lands; and the *longue durée*.

Networks and Intertextuality

Until the fifteenth century, the task of teaching the catechism was a responsibility assumed primarily by local churches. In Spain, for instance, bishops, councils, and synods decreed the policies, and the local clergy, with the help of sacristans and school teachers, implemented them (or failed to do so).¹⁶ Grendler has shown that some catechetical initiatives in Quattrocento Italy, such as those initiated by the Compagnia di S. Girolamo in Bologna and the Compagnia della Purificazione in Florence, failed to leave an extensive and lasting impact precisely because of their local and relatively isolated nature.¹⁷ From the sixteenth century on, instead, new groups, organizations, and religious orders devoted themselves to the teaching of catechism, and established (more or less formally) local or national networks: the most obvious cases

¹⁵ My English translation from the modern French translation of Maunoir's report, originally written in Latin: Cras A.-S. – Cras J. (trans.), *Miracles et sabbats: Journal du Père Maunoir: Missions en Bretagne, 1631–1650* (Paris: 1997) 29, 39, 60.

¹⁶ See Sánchez Herrero J., "Catequesis y predicación", in Bartolomé Martínez B. (ed.), *Historia de la acción educadora de la Iglesia en España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1995–1997) I, 204–233.

¹⁷ See Grendler, "Fifteenth-Century Catechesis" 292–297.

were those of the confraternities of Christian doctrine in Italy,¹⁸ the Colegios de Niños de la Doctrina in Spain,¹⁹ and later the Doctrinaires in France.²⁰ This networking undoubtedly had a significant effect. All of these groups used singing, in some form, in association with their teaching activities. Among the religious orders, it was the Jesuits who played a unique role in the diffusion of the ‘singing’ method:²¹ first because of the international nature of their network (they exported it from Spain to other European countries via Italy, and at the same time to the foreign missions); and then because of their constant search for best practices and an ability to ‘combine, systematize, and circulate’ old and new ‘techniques for the diffusion of doctrinal contents’.²²

Two passages by the French Jesuit Guillaume Marc (1574–1637 or 1638, author of the *Rossignols spirituels* [1616], of which more below) deserve consideration in this connection:

Le catéchiste ne se doit appliquer à rien tant qu'à enseigner le catéchisme, et à excogiter des moyens par lesquels il pourra avancer la doctrine chrétienne. A cette fin, qu'il lise divers catéchismes, qu'il communique avec d'autres catéchistes, et suive leurs bons avis. Surtout qu'il s'accoutume à traiter les choses plus nécessaires, à parler clairement, et à se rendre le plus familier qu'il pourra [...] il n'y a rien de meilleur que de se faire entendre et de s'accommoder à la capacité des personnes.

¹⁸ See Turrini M., “Riformare il mondo a vera vita christiana”: le scuole di catechismo nell’Italia del Cinquecento”, *Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento – Jahrbuch des Italienisch-Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Trient* 8 (1982) 407–489; Grendler P.F., “The Schools of Christian Doctrine in Sixteenth-Century Italy”, *Church History* 53 (1984) 319–331.

¹⁹ See De Diego I., “Les ‘colegios de niños de la doctrina’ ou ‘niños doctrinos’: les voies et les enjeux de la formation en Espagne et en Amérique au XVI^e siècle”, in Bénat Tachot L. – Gruzinski S. (eds.), *Passeurs culturels: mécanismes de métissage* (Paris – Marne-La-Vallée: 2001) 169–190.

²⁰ See Dhôtel J.-C., *Les Origines du catéchisme moderne, d'après les premiers manuels imprimés en France* (Paris: 1967) 107ff.

²¹ The Franciscan tradition is also important and needs to be further studied: see for instance Moser D.-R., *Verkündigung durch Volksgesang: Studien zur Liedpropaganda und -katechesis der Gegenreformation* (Berlin: 1981); Guilloux F., “Sur l’air du père Honore’: La circulation des cantiques de mission dans les recueils capucins du XVIII^e siècle: premières approches”, in Leclerc M.D. – Robert A. (eds.), *Chansons de colportage* (Reims: 2002) 191–205.

²² Palomo F., “La doctrine mise en scène: Catéchèse et missions intérieures dans la Péninsule Ibérique à l’époque moderne”, *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* LXXIV, 147 (2005) 23–55, at 28 (my translation).

La façon d'enseigner le catéchisme dépend beaucoup des auditeurs, de sorte qu'on ne peut rien ordonner de certain; mais un chacun doit éprouver ce qui est bon, et tenir le meilleur.²³

The catechist should put his best efforts into teaching the catechism, and devising methods which will advance Christian doctrine. To that end, he should read several catechisms, be in contact with other catechists, and follow their good advice. Most of all, he should become accustomed to covering the most necessary things, to speaking clearly, and to becoming as easy and familiar as he can [...] nothing is better than to make oneself understood and to accommodate oneself to the understanding of the people.

The way of teaching the catechism depends greatly on the audience, and thus it is impossible to give set rules; but everybody should test the good methods, and keep to the best ones.

If, on the other hand, we read the well-known treatise on the subject of singing in classes of Christian doctrine published by another French Jesuit, Michel Coysard (1547–1623),²⁴ we realize that its author was adequately informed about the pastoral practices implemented in several European countries and knew well the historical precedents. Not surprisingly, he knew the work of Ledesma. Furthermore, Coysard translated into French Roberto Bellarmino's *Dottrina cristiana breve* (possibly the most popular brief catechism of the time), and revised the French version of Torsellini's biography of the foremost Jesuit

²³ From Cappliez C., *L'École dominicale de Valenciennes au seizième siècle* (Geneva: 1971) 64–65.

²⁴ *Traicté du profit que toute Personne tire de chanter en la Doctrine Chrestienne, & ailleurs, les Hymnes, & Chansons spirituelles en vulgaire: & du Mal qu'apportent les Lascives, & Heretiques, controuvees de Satan* (*Treatise of the profit that everyone derives from singing, in the [classes of] Christian doctrine and elsewhere, hymns and spiritual songs in vernacular; and of the damage produced by the lascivious and heretical songs fabricated by Satan*); printed at the end of Coysard's *Sommaire de la Doctrine chrestienne [...]* avec les *Hymnes & Odes spirituelles* (Lyon, Jean Pillehotte: 1608). On Coysard see Dhôtel, *Les Origines du catéchisme moderne, passim*; Pau G., "De l'usage de la chanson spirituelle par les Jésuites au temps de la Contre-Réforme", in Vaccaro J.-M. (ed.), *La chanson à la Renaissance: actes du xx^e Colloque d'études humanistes du Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance de l'Université de Tours, juillet 1977* (Tours: 1981) 15–34; Launay, *La musique religieuse en France* 119–136; Dompnier, "Les cantiques dans la pastorale missionnaire" 78–84; Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine" (with further literature).

catechist, Francis Xavier.²⁵ This is the complex background behind Coyssard's catechetical activity and his stepping forward as an apologist of the 'singing' method: a typical example of the Jesuit 'way of proceeding', and of networking. In turn, when Maunoir, almost seventy years later, had to defend himself against his opponents, he referred to Coyssard:

I do not need to look far to find my models: the Fathers of the Society of Jesus organize similar processions [i.e., with songs and *tableaux vivants*] in the Indies, in Italy, in Spain, in the provinces of Lyon and Toulouse, as Michel Coyssard has shown in the book in which he set himself up as protector and defender of spiritual hymns in the vernacular.²⁶

If we want, then, to better understand early modern phenomena such as the sung catechism, we need to search out and examine networks. As might be expected, local and international networks generated a maze of intertextual relationships—or intertextual networks—that involved texts, not only in different languages, but texts that could also be very distant from each other in both time and space.²⁷ See below, in the section 'The *longue durée*', for an example of melodies behaving in an analogous way.

The Public Dimension of Catechesis

Influenced by today's practice in the Catholic Church (at least in Western Europe), we might tend to conceive catechesis as an indoor activity, mainly directed to its participants, and essentially devoid of repercussions on a larger public. But what was the situation like in the early modern era? According, for instance, to the rules of the Colegios de Niños de la Doctrina, in mid-sixteenth-century Spain, their members were instructed to recite and sing the Christian doctrine in the streets and squares, in hospitals and prisons, and in nearby villages.²⁸ In other words, the education of the *niños doctrinos*, as Inés De Diego has remarked, was not conceived as an aim in itself, but was meant to benefit society as a whole. Disseminating doctrine, as well as participating in processions and accompanying funerals, the *niños* acted as intermediaries 'dans

²⁵ Published in Lyon in 1611.

²⁶ Cras – Cras, *Miracles et sabbats*, 84.

²⁷ See Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine".

²⁸ Framiñán de Miguel M.J., "La 'Doctrina cristiana' de Gregorio de Pesquera (Valladolid, 1554): esbozo de análisis y contextualización histórico-literaria", *Criticón* 96 (2006) 5–46, at 28–29.

l'évangélisation, dans la lutte contre l'hérésie et dans la reprise en main morale de la société'.²⁹ In general, as John O'Malley has observed, this was the period when 'the teaching of catechism became a more highly organized enterprise than ever before' moving, as it did, 'from hearth to public space'.³⁰ Alongside aspects related to memory and delight, as mentioned above, this *public* dimension led to a demand for songs which could convey the tenets of Christian doctrine. No wonder, then, that Gregorio de Pesquera, the founder of the Colegios, devoted the entire third part of his printed catechism (*Doctrina christiana, y Espejo de bien biuir*, 1554) to songs: 'muchos cantares y coplas devotas para que los niños y otras personas canten y se alegren con devoción' ('many songs and devout *coplas*, for the children and other people to sing and devoutly rejoice').³¹

Let us observe Ledesma again:

Si potrebbe anco, ed è cosa di molta edificazione, quando non offendesse, ma giovasse, finita la lezione, uscire con la campanella, con tutti i fanciulli, *cantando la doctrina Cristiana*, un giorno per una strada, e un altro per un'altra della città: e per le strade di quando in quando fermarsi a fare alcuna essortanzioncella, dove fusse quantità di gente, *pigliando occasione da quello che allora si cantasse*; e andare a qualche chiesa, dove tutti già entrati cantassero una Salve Regina.³²

It is also possible, and it is an edifying thing, whenever it does not offend, but is beneficial, to go out with a little bell, at the end of the class, with all the children, *singing the Christian doctrine*, one day on one street of the city, the next on another one; and to stop, from time to time, and make a little piece of exhortation, where many people are gathered, *taking the cue from what is being sung*; and then to go to a church and, once everybody is inside, sing a Salve Regina.

²⁹ De Diego, "Les 'colegios de niños de la doctrina'" 172 (see also 184–185).

³⁰ O'Malley J.W., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: 1993) 117.

³¹ On Pesquera, see Santolaria Sierra F., "Los colegios de doctrinos o de niños de la doctrina cristiana: nuevos datos y fuentes documentales para su estudio", *Hispania: Revista española de historia* 56, 192 (1996) 267–290; De Diego, "Les 'colegios de niños de la doctrina"'; Santolaria Sierra F., "Una edición no conocida de la 'doctrina cristiana' de san Juan de Ávila, incluida en la compilación de Gregorio de Pesquera: 'Doctrina cristiana y Espejo de bien vivir' (Valladolid, 1 de mayo de 1554)" *Hispania Sacra* 57, 116 (2005) 491–558; Framiñán de Miguel, "La 'Doctrina cristiana' de Gregorio de Pesquera"; Resines L., *San Juan de Ávila: 'Doctrina Cristiana que se canta'* (Madrid: 2012) 51–146.

³² Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la doctrina christiana* 12v. Italics mine.

The doctrine must not only be taught, it must also be proclaimed, spread, and even ‘glorified’.³³ Its public presence must not go unnoticed: another Jesuit, Jerónimo López, wrote in this connection of the ‘noise of the doctrine’ ([el] ruido de la Doctrina), that attracted people during the missions.³⁴ The adoption of the ‘singing’ method was instrumental for the implementation of this ideal. Following this path we notice a thought-provoking continuity between catechesis and other ministries with public and sonic relevance. The examples of the two French Jesuit catechists we have already mentioned, Guillaume Marc and Julien Maunoir, are especially telling.³⁵

The case of Marc reveals a connection between the sung catechism and the simplest forms of theatrical representation, what he called *actionnettes*. Sent to teach the catechism in Valenciennes around 1600,³⁶ he initially employed traditional didactic methods. The attempt failed, however, because the children were uninterested and indolent, and so he quit. But then, in a later phase,

je tirai tous les registres de mon industrie, tantôt en formant des chansons spirituelles, tantôt en représentant quelque actionnette. Je m'estudiais à formeraucuns à chanter simplement, aucuns en musique. Quelques temps après, je trouvais bon de faire chanter le Pater, Ave, Credo, les Commandements de Dieu et de l'Église.³⁷

I pulled out all the stops of my ingenuity, sometimes composing spiritual songs, sometimes presenting a short play. I endeavored to teach some of them to sing in a simple way, others to sing in polyphony. After a while, I found it good to have them sing the Pater, Ave, Credo, and the Commandments of God and of the Church.

Now, according to Marc, the children were excited about learning the catechism! Marc’s multimedia approach to catechesis found expression in his

³³ Palomo, “La doctrine mise en scène” 32.

³⁴ Quoted in Broggio P., “L’acto de contrición” entre Europe et nouveaux mondes: Diego Luis de Sanvítores et la circulation des stratégies d’évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus au XVII^e siècle”, in Fabre P.-A. – Vincent B. (eds.), *Missions religieuses modernes: ‘Notre lieu est le monde’* (Rome: 2007) 229–259, at 241–242.

³⁵ For other examples from the Iberian Peninsula, and valuable comments on the public aspect of the doctrine, see Palomo, “La doctrine mise en scène”.

³⁶ Cappliez, *L’École dominicale de Valenciennes* 53–58.

³⁷ Ibid. 54–55.

Rossignols spirituels,³⁸ a collection of devotional songs (mostly for two voices) in which materials explicitly related to the doctrine appear next to dialogues and quasi-dramaturgic pieces featuring historical or allegorical characters (from Queen Blanche of Castile discussing with her son Louis IX the consequences of sin, to Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven suggesting ‘the remedy of sin’ and describing the eternal fate of souls). Interestingly, other elements reveal how catechesis was interwoven with the daily rhythms of prayer and with the overarching cycle of the liturgical year: the *Rossignols* include vernacular pieces that incorporate liturgical songs such as the Magnificat (in Latin), and present specific songs for the main feasts of the year (from Christmas to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary); the Latin litanies are also included. Besides the strictly doctrinal contents, catechesis clearly had to do with the collective transmission of shared values and models: in this case the presence of many Jesuit figures (Stanislas Kostka ‘with Baby Jesus in his arms’, Aloysius Gonzaga ‘in love with the Crucifix’, Francis Xavier preaching to the sinners) demonstrates how Marc’s exercises were imbued with Jesuit spirituality.

In Maunoir’s 1672 report, on the other hand, we clearly perceive the continuity between catechesis and processions—solemn processions with *tableaux vivants*:

When, at the beginning of a mission, you announce to the parishioners that some adults among them will be chosen to play the Apostles, some children to play the angels, some girls or women to play the martyrs, *on the sole condition that they should learn how to sing the spiritual songs*, in the following days you see them flocking to the church, at dawn, and spending most of the day there. Sometimes boys and girls even stay there chanting for the whole night. *Remaining in the church for so long, they follow our sermons, our catechism classes, and the other exercises [...]* The beneficial effect of this ceremony reaches far beyond the borders of the parish where it takes place. People pour in from everywhere, even if they have to walk for an entire day; in front of this fervent procession, from which a sweet melody rises, they cannot hold back their tears, and, *when*

38 *Les Rossignols spirituels. Liguez en Duo, dont les meilleurs accords, nommément le Bas, relèvent du Seigneur Pierre Philipes, Organiste de ses Altezes Serenissimes* (Valenciennes, De l’imprimerie de Iean Verlriet, à la Bible d’or: 1616). Reprinted in 1621 and again, in a revised and altered edition, in 1647.

*they see the children answer our questions regarding faith, they want to be taught in turn.*³⁹

As this and other passages in Maunoir's report make clear, the teaching of the doctrine was connected not only with the processions, but more generally with the sort of 'collective sacred play' that was a popular mission. Judging from a later Jesuit manual for prospective missionaries, the *Pratica delle missioni* published under the name of the famous Paolo Segneri in 1714, the same happened in Italy.⁴⁰ In fact, this was in line with the recommendations that the Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva had addressed to missionaries as early as the 1590s (*Instructio pro iis qui ad missiones fructificandi causa proficiscuntur*):

Pomeridianae horae ponentur in tradenda feminis puerisque doctrina christiana; *allicienturque processionibus publicis*, festis praesertim diebus, in quibus pueri ac puellae vario cum ornatu appareant, et praemii imaginum, diligentem operam adhibendo, ut doctrinam accurate perdiscent, et hortando, ut eam aliarum inanium cantionum loco decantent inter laborandum et in agris ipsis.⁴¹

The afternoon hours will be employed in teaching the Christian doctrine to women and children; and *they will be enticed by means of public processions*, especially on festive days, in which boys and girls will appear with various ornaments, and by giving pictures as prizes; diligently seeing to it that they learn the doctrine accurately by heart, and exhorting them to sing it, instead of other vain songs, while working, and even in the fields.

These and other testimonies suggest that we should not limit ourselves to thinking of the teaching of Christian doctrine in terms of 'schools' and 'classes'; rather, we should speak of 'doctrinal acts', 'doctrinal exercises'⁴² and even

³⁹ Cras – Cras, *Miracles et sabbats* 81. Italics mine. One of these processions, for the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, is described on pages 79–81.

⁴⁰ See Over B., “Convertire l'anime”: Die Rolle der Musik in der inneren Mission Italiens”, in Matheus R. – Oy-Marra E. – Pietschmann K. (eds.), *Barocke Bekehrungen: Konversionsszenarien im Rom der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bielefeld: 2013) 195–235.

⁴¹ *Institutum societatis Iesu: 3. Regulae, ratio studiorum; ordinationes, instructiones; industriae; exercitia, directorium* (Florence: 1893) 367. Italics mine.

⁴² Palomo, “La doctrine mise en scène” 48.

'catechism festivals'.⁴³ In sum, the study of the sung catechism stimulates us to reassess the *public* nature and role of catechesis in the early modern period.

The Role of Songs and Sonic Media in Interconfessional Encounters

Whereas spiritual songs in general were markers of confessional identity, catechetical songs served this purpose even more effectively. They were conceived as summaries of the doctrine or commentaries on specific dogmas, and thus they reflected very clearly the Catholic set of beliefs (the same is true, obviously, of non-Catholic versified and sung catechisms).⁴⁴

This was, however, a delicate subject. In certain cases, the very idea of singing religious songs in the vernacular was deemed suspect in the Catholic sphere, precisely because of the role vernacular spiritual songs played in Protestant circles. Ledesma cautioned his readers on this subject:

dove gli eretici cantano cose simili, ed è proibito da' superiori il cantarle, bisogna che il cantar de' Catolici si faccia con edificazione de' Catolici, e consenso de' superiori, *per non parere di simbolizzare con gli eretici.*⁴⁵

where the heretics sing similar things, and it is forbidden by the superiors to sing them, it is necessary that Catholic singing be done for the edification of Catholics and with the superiors' permission, *so that they do not seem to side with the heretics.*

Coyssard, for his part, felt compelled to clarify that these practices had nothing to do with liturgy, and by no means aimed to replace Latin psalms and hymns 'as they do in the mosques [!] of England' ('comme il se fait és Mosquées d'Angleterre': *Traicté du profit* 6). In the case of Marc, his unwavering

43 Drèze C., "Le chant du catéchisme chez les jésuites de la province flandro-belge (xvi^e–xvii^e siècles)", in Dumont M. (ed.), *Musique et religion* (Paris: forthcoming). I wish to thank Céline Drèze for sharing her forthcoming essay; it contains valuable information about the practice of the sung catechism among Flemish and Belgian Jesuits, giving further evidence of the pan-European diffusion of these practices.

44 See for instance Mattheus Le Maistre's repeatedly reprinted *Catechesis numeris musicis inclusa*, first printed in Nuremberg in 1559; a modern edition is available in *Catechesis and Gesenge*, ed. D. Gresch, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 39 (Madison, WI: 1982). For Anglican England, see Green, *The Christian's ABC* 254.

45 Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana* 20. Italics mine.

anti-Protestant stance is prominent right from the preliminary texts of his *Rossignols spirituels* (p. 5):⁴⁶

Long temps devant que Calvin ny Luther
 Eussent tiré du profond de l'enfer
 Leur heresie & perverse atheïsme,
 On a chanté des vers au Catechisme.

Si eux depuis nous ons ravy la note
 Pour mettre sus leur erreur huguenote,
 Chrestien, tu peux, pour iouyr de ton bien,
 De ces larrons revendiquer le tien.

Long before Calvin and Luther drew their heresy and evil atheism from the depth of Hell, verses were sung during catechism classes.

If they stole from us the note, in order to place it on their Huguenot mistakes, you can claim it back from these robbers, O Christian, in order to enjoy your own property.

Recent scholarship has shown that songs and sonic media played a crucial role in interconfessional encounters.⁴⁷ The study of the sonic practices connected with the catechism can add distinctive elements to our knowledge about this role, and further encourages us to explore this theme, ideally from a comparativist perspective.

⁴⁶ See also Launay, *La musique religieuse en France* 196–197.

⁴⁷ See for instance Oettinger R.W., *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot – Burlington, VT: 2001); Fisher A.J., *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: 2004); Leitmeir C.T., “Beyond the Denominational Paradigm: The Motet as Confessional(ising) Practice in the Later Sixteenth Century”, in Rodríguez-García E. – Filippi D.V. (eds.), *Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era* (Abingdon: forthcoming).

The Interplay between Missionary Experiences in Europe and Those in Extra-European Lands

Among the factors that led to this ‘age of catechism’ in European history (to quote Robert Bireley),⁴⁸ there is, paradoxically, a phenomenon associated with the extra-European missions: the need for efficient methods to introduce the people of the newly-colonized lands to faith stimulated reflections and experiments which had, in turn, a feedback effect in Europe.⁴⁹

I have already mentioned St. Francis Xavier as the foremost Jesuit catechist. Although it has gone unnoticed in previous scholarship on this subject, it is of special relevance that when Xavier composed his first short catechism in Goa in May 1542, he followed the model of Portuguese and Spanish primers (*cartinhas/cartillas*),⁵⁰ both in the content and in the irregular, quasi-metrical diction (Xavier subsequently used both a Portuguese version of the sung catechism and translations in such local languages as Tamil, Malay, and Japanese). With Xavier, thus, the ‘Iberian’ sung catechism traveled to Asia; and the successive reception of Xavier as *the* model for Catholic missionaries surely helped the universal dissemination of this method in Europe and abroad. Coysard, for instance, quoted the relevant passages from Xavier’s biography and letters in his treatise mentioned above.

Another example is Gregorio de Pesquera, whom we have already met. A former *conquistador*, he converted and began a new life as an educator in Spain, where he founded the Colegios de Niños de la Doctrina in the early 1540s. He traveled to Mexico with Bartolomé de las Casas in 1544–1545, and there he founded and directed one of the first homes for indigent children in

48 Bireley R., *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, DC: 1999) 207.

49 For reflections on this feedback effect within the global horizon of Catholic missions, see Deslandres D., *Croire et faire croire: les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle (1600–1650)* (Paris: 2003); Broggio P., *Evangelizzare il mondo: le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America: secoli XVI–XVII* (Rome: 2004); Fabre and Vincent, *Missions religieuses modernes*; Clossey L., *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York: 2008). A more extensive treatment of this section’s topic is given in Filippi D.V., “Songs in Early Modern Catholic Missions: Between Europe, the Indies, and the ‘Indies of Europe’”, in Pietschmann K. (ed.), *Vokalpolyphonie zwischen Alter und Neuer Welt: Musikalische Austauschprozesse zwischen Europa und Latein-Amerika im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Troja—Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 14 (Kassel: forthcoming).

50 See Schurhammer G. – Wicki J. (eds.), *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, 2 vols., *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* 67–68 (Rome: 1944) I, 93–116 (especially 94–95). For Portuguese *cartinhas*, see Infante, *De las primeras letras* 40–41.

the Americas.⁵¹ He was also in contact with the Franciscan Pedro de Gante, a pioneer in the teaching of catechism and in the use of music as a medium for communicating with the indigenous population.⁵² In the late 1540s Pesquera printed for the children of his Mexican college a catechism (now lost), whose content is impossible to ascertain: what is sure, however, is that back in Europe he published another catechism (the above-mentioned *Doctrina christiana* of 1554), which included a rich set of devotional and doctrinal songs.

The study of the sung catechism thus confirms that we need to look deeper into the interplay between pastoral experiences in Europe and in non-European missions, and find ways of tracking the complex processes of transfer, emulation, and adaptation which were at work throughout the broad geographical reach of Early Modern Catholicism.

The *longue durée*

At the root of the method of the sung catechism, as it was worked out in early sixteenth-century Spain, stood the need for a concise summary of the doctrine, one that was easy both to memorize and to perform. The same need continued to be felt during the entire early modern era, and the method continued to be deployed. In the mid-seventeenth century, the French Oratorian François Bourgoing recommended, in his instructions for missionaries (*Direction pour les missions* [Paris: 1646]), to proclaim a ‘sommaire de la Doctrine Chrestienne’ at the end of each sermon, so that everybody could learn it.⁵³ Fr. Paul Beurrier, *prieur-curé* in Nanterre in the same period, combined a similar summary with singing, in a way that perfectly corresponds to the tradition we have described thus far: he set the Pater, Ave, Credo and the Commandments in French ‘en chant musical’ and had two choirboys sing it ‘fort distinctement’ at Mass on every Sunday and feast day; another choirboy then recited the summary ‘entre le choeur et la nef fort distinctement et fort haut’.⁵⁴

Furthermore, the topoi used to explain and justify the method remain remarkably constant during the early modern era. One of the first printed

⁵¹ The college of San Juan de Letrán in Mexico City.

⁵² See Ros-Fábregas E., “Imagine All the People...”: Polyphonic Flowers in the Hands and Voices of Indians in 16th-Century Mexico”, *Early Music* 40, 2 (2012) 177–189.

⁵³ Châtellier L., *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c.1500–c.1800* (Cambridge: 1997; original French, Paris: 1993) 33.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Ferté J., *La vie religieuse dans les campagnes parisiennes, 1622–1695* (Paris: 1962) 240.

sources to include a sung doctrine, the *Doctrina cristiana del Ermitaño y niño* compiled by the Dominican Andrés Flórez around 1540 (the first known edition, dated 1546, seems to reflect an earlier tradition),⁵⁵ contains the following explanation:

Pónese luego sumada toda la doctrina cristiana en coplas con su tono puntado, porque los niños lo encomienden y retengan más en la memoria con dulce composición de verso y canto, y para que olviden muchos malos cantares que usan; que David en sus psalmos y Jeremías en sus lamentaciones y otros lo usaron; la yglesia, assí mesmo, lo usa en hymnos y prosas.⁵⁶

There follows a summary of the Christian doctrine in verse, with its tune notated, in order that the children can memorize it and remember it better, thanks to the sweet combination of verse and song, and in order that they forget the many bad songs they sing; David in his Psalms and Jeremiah in his Lamentations used verse and music; the Church itself does the same in hymns and sequences.

First, then, the sung verse is used because it helps children to memorize contents more easily and retain them in memory, thanks to the delightful combination of concise and well-arranged words ('breves y ordenadas palabras')⁵⁷ with music. Second, the doctrine songs help children forget the bad songs they usually sing. Third comes a Biblical-historical reason: King David's Psalms and the prophet Jeremiah's Lamentations are singled out as models for the combined employment of verse and music. Finally, Flórez makes reference to other current musical practices in the Church, namely the singing of hymns and sequences ('hynos y prosas').

In Coyssard's treatise of 1608 we find a similar set of reasons: music helps learning and memory, and offers enticement and delight; it enhances the public dimension of catechism and facilitates its diffusion; it works as an antidote

55 Studied and edited in facsimile in Cátedra P.M., *La Doctrina cristiana del Ermitaño y niño' de Andrés Flórez, O.P. (Valladolid, 1552)* (Salamanca: 1997).

56 Version of the 1552 print, *ibid.* 58–59.

57 As stated in another version of this text (Toledo: 1550): 'Pónese luego summada toda la doctrina cristiana en coplas, con su tono puntado, porque con sabor y voluntad sea encomendado a la memoria *con breves y ordenadas palabras*, assí como hizo David y otros escritores sagrados para tratar los misterios divinos en breve y para encomendarlos a la memoria con dulce composición de verso y canto' (*ibid.*).

against bad songs; and many precedents can be adduced from the Bible, the tradition of the Church, and contemporary use.⁵⁸ A century later, the preface to a Jesuit sung doctrine (Innocenzo Innocenzi's *Dottrina christiana spiegata in versi*, published in P.M. Ferreri's *Istruzioni informa di catechismo per la pratica della dottrina cristiana* [Palermo: 1737]) refers again to the same themes.⁵⁹ In fact, we find them already in Xavier (or at least in his early reception); according to Torsellini,

catechismum modulans docebat, ratus pueros, cantus suavitate delinitos, et libertius converturos ad audiendum, et facilius illa tanquam carmina memoriae mandatueros.⁶⁰

he taught the catechism by singing, reckoning that the children, charmed by the sweetness of the song, on the one hand would gather more gladly to listen, and on the other would memorize more easily those things as if they were songs.

Coysard quoted this passage in his *Traicté du profit*; in fact, these topoi permeate the entire Jesuit tradition.

Other factors point to a *longue durée* perspective. In Italy, for instance, the singing of the catechism went hand in hand, from the very beginning, with the singing of *laude*. Whereas scholars of *lauda* have focused essentially on the sixteenth century,⁶¹ the genre continued to be practiced widely in the following centuries, often in connection with popular missions and catechesis.⁶² Significantly, Segneri's versified doctrine bore the title *Laude spirituale* (sic et simpliciter!).⁶³ The fact that the same melody, printed for the first time in a Jesuit *lauda* collection of the 1570s (setting a fifteenth-century text, *Spirito*

⁵⁸ Coysard, *Traicté du profit* 8–9 and *passim*.

⁵⁹ For more information on both Coysard's and Innocenzi's reasons, see Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine".

⁶⁰ Torsellini Orazio, *De vita Francisci Xaverii [...] libri sex* (Rome, Zannetti: 1596), book II, ch. 3.

⁶¹ The most recent and comprehensive study is Piéjus A., *Musique et dévotion à Rome à la fin de la Renaissance: Les laudes de l'Oratoire* (Turnhout: 2013).

⁶² See Over, "Convertire l'anime" 224–226.

⁶³ See Librandi R., "Indottrinare in un continuum di varietà", in Clivio G.P. – Longo Lavorato R. (eds.), *De vulgari eloquentia: lingua e dialetti nella cultura italiana*, Language, media & education studies 45 (New York – Ottawa: 2010) 25–44, at 36–38; Majorana B., "Musiche voci e suoni nelle missioni rurali dei gesuiti italiani (XVI–XVIII secolo)", in Nanni, *La musica dei semplici* 125–154; Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine".

Santo amore) could resurface one hundred years later as a recitative formula in a sung catechism (Innocenzi's *Dottrina christiana* quoted above, 1672 edition)⁶⁴ is suggestive of the intertextual ramifications that pervade this repertoire. Further studies will have to shed new light on the late phase of the *lauda* and on its functional connections with devotional and doctrinal exercises.

Be that as it may, all these elements taken together suggest that in order to understand the practices I have identified, we need to study them (to *listen to* them) in a *longue durée* perspective. This is probably true of many other phenomena in the musical cultures of the early modern era: once we forget, no matter how briefly, the labels and boundaries traditionally associated with style periods (Late Renaissance, Baroque, and so on), or we re-frame them within a broader view, we see things differently, and we see new things. That is why the concept of Early Modern Catholicism, with its inclusive nature, is not just a nominally neutral container, but also a useful historiographical tool, whose potential, in our discipline and in the interdisciplinary debate, seems still far from being fully realized.

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64 See again Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine".

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Artistic Revival and Conquest of the Soul in Early Modern Rome¹

Anne Piéjus

Conventional historiography of the oratorio usually favors a teleological perspective by viewing the Roman *lauda* of the late Renaissance as the principal antecedent of baroque dialogue and oratorio.² Since Pasquetti (1906), the prevailing view was that the two-part form of the baroque oratorio had been inherited from the spiritual gatherings, the so called *oratori*, organized by Filippo Neri's Oratorians at the end of the sixteenth century. In these *oratori*, the sermon would be preached between musical pieces. The first to qualify this history was Howard Smither.³ For over a century, historical accounts of the musical oratorio were teleological and there were many arguments to justify that teleological approach. The strongest one was based on the spiritual madrigals written for, and performed at, the Roman Oratory in the 1610s and 1620s.⁴ Those madrigals seem to have been grouped two by two⁵.

An examination of these first attempts, and a study of these *laude* freed of historical preconceptions, leads to a complete reversal of such an interpretation. Much more than the origin of a baroque genre, the Roman *lauda* can be

¹ My sincere thanks to Fr. Pierre Bourhis for his assiduous reading of this article.

² See especially Pasquetti G., *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Florence: 1906); Alaleona D., *Storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia*, 2nd ed. (Milan: 1945). See also Dixon G., "Oratorio o mottetto? Alcune riflessioni sulla classificazione della musica sacra del Seicento", *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 17 (1983) 203–222; Boyd M., "Baroque Oratorio: A Terminological Inexactitude?", *The Musical Times* 119, 1624 (June 1978) 507–508, and Franchi S. (ed.), *Percorsi dell'oratorio romano: Da 'Historia Sacra' a melodramma spirituale* (Rome: 2002).

³ Smither H.E., *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill, NC: 1977); see also Smither's introduction to his own edition *Antecedents of the Oratorio: Sacred Dramatic Dialogues, 1600–1630*, Oratorios of the Italian Baroque 1 (Laaber: 1985).

⁴ See Anerio Giovanni Francesco, *Teatro armonico spirituale di madrigali* (Rome, Robletti: 1619).

⁵ See Piéjus A., *Musique et dévotion à Rome à la fin de la Renaissance: Les laudes de l'Oratoire* (Turnhout: 2013) 450, and eadem, "La musica interiore", in Giron-Panel C. – Goulet A.-M. (eds.), *La musique à Rome au XVII^e siècle* (Rome: 2012) 387–403, at 390–392.

seen as evidence of a revival of medieval piety in modern Italy.⁶ In the wake of the Council of Trent, the singing of *lauda* was encouraged by Filippo Neri, founder of the Congregation of the Oratory. The *lauda* repertory is characterized by a remarkable variety of forms and styles, both poetic and musical. In most cases, the musical style is note against note, inspired by *falsobordone*, with rare cases of more elaborate contrapuntal structures. A special feature of the Oratorian repertory—a repertory that emerged in a congregation of secular priests, rather than in a monastic community—is that most of these musical works were disseminated through print. Between 1563 and 1598, nine books of music were published, most often comprising *laude* for 3 or 4 voices. In accordance with Tridentine pastoral goals, printing music was a priority for this community. In fact, the printed books are indicative of the singing practice of this congregation. This article discusses the ways in which a somewhat backward-looking repertory played such an important role in the pastoral strategies of the Catholic Reform.

Fascination with the Past

The Oratorian *lauda* seems to have been conceived as a revival, or maybe a survival, updating the several pasts that shape not only the poetry and the music, but also, and above all, the function of collective singing. From this point of view, the devotions using this traditional singing may be compared with the paintings commissioned by the same congregation for its main church, the so-called Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella).⁷ These paintings share strong yet equivocal links with the past.⁸ The painter Federico Barocci, at the end of his career, was strongly influenced by medieval monastic Umbrian painting, and sought to incorporate ancient devotional artistic styles into modern works.⁹ Another practice was the enhancement of old miraculous images in modern devotional paintings. This practice, very common after the Council of Trent, was employed, for instance, by Peter Paul Rubens in his *Madonna della*

6 See Piéjus, *Musique et dévotion*.

7 For instance, Federico Barocci's *Visitazione* (1598) and *Presentazione di Maria al Tempio* (1593–1605) and Rubens's famous *Madonna della Vallicella* (1606–1608).

8 See Lingo S., *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting* (New Haven: 2008).

9 See Verstegen I., "Federico Barocci, Federico Borromeo, and the Oratorian Orbit", *Renaissance Quarterly* 56, 1 (2003) 56–87.

Vallicella. Victor Stoichiță in particular analyzed the relationship between the medieval icon and its development in modern painting in Rubens's *Madonna*.¹⁰

Both devotions with music and the paintings met with remarkable success. In the early 1560s, the main pilgrimage in which *laude* were sung, the 'Visit of the Seven Churches', was attended by more than three thousand people; in 1598, when the *Visitazione* by Barocci was hung at the Chiesa Nuova, the public queued for three days to see the new painting. The Oratorian congregation, founded in 1575, however, was of recent origin, and its repertory was not the result of a long tradition. Stylistic conservatism was, for them, a deliberate choice.

But how did a penitential song in note-against-note style, based mainly on *falsobordone*, function in the sound culture of modern urban Rome? It was a milieu in which one could hear multiple-choir Masses or highly sophisticated madrigals by Luca Marenzio and Ruggiero Giovannelli, and it occurred at a moment when the music profession was becoming institutionalized, and artistic aesthetics tended to become competitive and were often related to the need for immediate acceptance. Iain Fenlon, in a seminal essay published in 1990,¹¹ considered the post-Tridentine *lauda* as an extension of the monastic tradition, and contrasted this conservative tendency with such music promoted by the Tridentine decrees as, for example, the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo. In fact, even if the modern Roman *lauda* is a survival, it also responds to very contemporary concerns. The somewhat old-fashioned vocal repertory encouraged by the Oratorians is connected with the Catholic Reformation's deep interest in ecclesiastical history. Indeed, the Catholic claim for continuity was rooted in an awareness of its long history, thus enabling a sharp differentiation from Protestantism. In fact, the Oratorian *lauda* maintained strong and complex historical links that served as anchor points for spirituality, theology, devotional practices and social organization, politics, and of course, artistic factors. Poetry and music are probably the most promising areas in which to study affiliations and influences, especially because they reflect a long-term history.

¹⁰ See Stoichiță V.I., *L'Instauration du tableau: Métapeinture à l'aube des temps modernes*, 2nd ed. (Geneva: 1989).

¹¹ Fenlon I., "Music and Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Florence, Rome and the Savonarolan Tradition", in De Maio R. et al. (eds.), *Bellarmino e la Controriforma* (Sora: 1990) 851–889.

A Regressive Utopia

The Oratorian *lauda*'s oldest historical link is to the Apostolic era of the early Christian Church, the same era that inspired Neri in the construction of his congregation. His deep interest in ancient forms of piety reflects a contemporary interest in Christian archeology, particularly important in Rome, where the catacombs had recently been discovered.¹² This 'regressive utopia', as the French historian Bernard Dompnier styles such a fascination for early Christianity,¹³ prompted the congregation to participate in Christian archeological projects in Rome. At the end of the sixteenth century, the congregation of the Oratory appears as a main center for the history of the Church, especially thanks to the monumental *Annales ecclesiastici* by the Oratorian (later Cardinal) Cesare Baronio (1538–1607).¹⁴ The *Annales* were the first Catholic response to the *Magdeburg Centuries*.¹⁵ In studying the correspondence between the two distinct Oratorian congregations in Rome and Naples, we notice that the *Annales* were conceived as a collective work, involving the intellectual elites of both communities. This collective effort even led to the foundation of an Oratorian press that, however, did not survive economic difficulties. Other seminal erudite works were published by such Oratorian priests as Antonio Gallonio, author of the *Historia delle sante vergini romane*¹⁶ and the *Trattato de*

¹² One of the first specialists was the Oratorian Tommaso Bosio, whose work was published posthumously in 1632. See Ghilardi M., *Subterranea civitas: Quattro studi sulle catacombe romane dal medioevo all'età moderna*, Nuovi Saggi 111 (Rome: 2003); idem, "Baronio e la 'Roma sotterranea' tra pietà oratoriana e interessi gesuitici", in Giulia L. (ed.), *Baronio e le sue fonti: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Sora 10–13 ottobre 2007*, Fonti e Studi Baroniani 4 (Sora: 2009) 435–487; and idem, "Quae signa erant illa, quibus putabant esse significativa Martyrii? Note sul riconoscimento ed autenticazione delle reliquie delle catacombe romane nella prima età moderna", *Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 122, 1 (2010) 81–106; Gosselin M., "The Congregation of the Oratorians and the Origins of Christian Archeology: A Reappraisal", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 104 (2009) 425–447.

¹³ Dompnier B., Introduction, in idem (ed.), *Reliques et culte des saints des premiers siècles: Dévotions et identités du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle: I. Les saints des origines: Lectures modernes* (Rome: forthcoming).

¹⁴ See Zen S., *Baronio storico: Controriforma e crisi del metodo umanistico* (Naples: 1994).

¹⁵ Baronio mentions it in a "Ringraziamento" addressed to Neri published in his *Annales*, tome IX. See also Martínez Ferrer L., "San Filippo Neri, Cesare Baronio e l'insegnamento della storia ecclesiastica", *Annales Oratori 7* (2008) 95–103. More generally, see Zen, *Baronio storico*.

¹⁶ *Historia delle sante vergini romane con varie annotationi e con alcune vite brevi de' santi parenti loro, e de' gloriosi martiri Papia e Mauro soldati romani* (Rome, Donangeli: 1591).



FIGURE 8.1 *Filippo Neri in the catacombs*. Engraving by Pietro Antonio Novelli from *Vita di S. Filippo Neri [...] in sessanta tavole in rame disegnate da Pietro Antonio Novelli ed incise da Innocente Alessandri (Venice: 1788)*. Rome, Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri.

gli instrumenti di martirio,¹⁷ both published in 1591 by the Donangeli brothers, who were also responsible, in the same year, for an edition of Oratorian *laude*.¹⁸ Eight years later, on the occasion of the translation of the relics of SS. Nereus and Achilleus to the Chiesa Nuova, Gallonio published a *Historia della vita e martirio de' gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla Vergine, Nereo et Acchilleo*.¹⁹

Like all of his generation, Neri was deeply involved in the rediscovery of the Roman catacombs; he even meditated there [Fig. 8.1]. In fact, the *oratori*, during which the *laude* were sung, were directly inspired by the first clandestine gatherings of the persecuted Christians. One of the most important

17 *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio, e delle varie maniere di martoriare usate da' gentili contro christiani, descritte et intagliate in rame* (Rome, Donangeli: 1591).

18 *Il quarto libro delle laudi a tre e quattro voci satmpate [sic] ad instantia dellli Reverendi Padri della Congregatione del'Oratorio* (Rome, Apud Alexandrum Gardanum, Impensis Ascanij et Hieronymi Donangeli: 1591).

19 *Historia della vita e martirio de' gloriosi santi Flavia Domitilla Vergine, Nereo et Acchilleo [sic], e più altri, con alcune vite brevi de' santi parenti di S. Flavia Domitilla, et alcune annotationi* (Rome, L. Zannetti: 1597).

testimonies concerning these spiritual gatherings comes from the first volume of the *Annales* where Baronio refers to St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, and describes the various services of the primitive Christian Church, inspired by divine wisdom. Baronio then digresses, claiming that his own congregation's gatherings are a survival of the informal and fervent Christian liturgies of Apostolic times:

E di vero è stata providenza di Dio, che a questa nostra età si sia rinnovato in gran parte nella città di Roma ciò che l'Apostolo determinò si facesse a profitto della Chiesa intorno al ragionare delle cose di Dio con frutto degli uditori: si sia rinnovato, dico, per opera principalmente del R. P. Filippo Neri Fiorentino, il quale come saggio architetto pose il fondamento, e del R. P. Francesco Maria Tarugi da Montepulciano suo figliuolo spirituale, che pareva nel sermonare il condottiere della divina parola.²⁰

And it was the providence of God, that in our time, in the city of Rome, what the Apostle [St. Paul] had established for the profit of the Church regarding the discussion of divine things has been revived, for the listeners' benefit. It has been revived, I say, mainly thanks to the work of the Reverend Father Filippo Neri, a Florentine who, as a cautious architect, laid the foundation, and of the Reverend Father Francesco Maria Tarugi from Montepulciano, his spiritual son, who, when he was preaching, seemed a *condottiere* of the divine word.

Emulating these ancient meetings, Neri rejected pomp and ceremony, preferring a simple language.²¹ Without regard to the social condition of the faithful, he based his spiritual gatherings on brotherhood, thus nurturing the spiritual kinship described by Nicholas Terpstra in the confraternities.²²

Florentine *lauda* in Rome

Neri also tried to disseminate a Franciscan spirituality and aesthetics, aiming at humility and simplicity. He was inspired by one of the greatest poets of

²⁰ *Annali ecclesiastici. Tratti da quelli del cardinal Baronio per Odorico Rinaldi Trivigiano Prete della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma*, 3 vols. (Rome, Mascardi: 1641) I, 162.

²¹ See Fenlon, "Music and Reform"; Piéjus, *Musique et dévotion*; Schmidt L., *Die römische Lauda und die Verchristlichung von Musik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Kassel: 2003).

²² See Terpstra N. (ed.), *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: 2000), notably the editor's introduction to the volume.

Franciscan *lauda*, Jacopone da Todi (d.1306). In attempting to understand the way Neri's library had been curated, I have noticed the importance of the *Vite*, the lives of saints, mainly of Franciscan friars. But above all, one perceives a very strong relationship to the Florentine tradition, firmly linked with radical political positions.²³

The *Primo libro delle laudi spirituali*, by the Florentine composer Giovanni Animuccia, was the first book published, in 1563, for Neri's gatherings. It was funded by the dedicatee, Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal of Santa Fiora, a protector of Animuccia, who was at that time *maestro* of the Cappella Giulia. The book contains thirty-six *lauda* texts, at least thirty-three of which are attested in the previous Florentine tradition [Table 8.1].²⁴

A significant number of texts is borrowed from Savonarolan poets, and one *lauda* is even composed on a poem by Savonarola himself, *Iesu sommo conforto*. This origin could explain the formal conservatism of the Oratorian *laude*, which maintained the late *frrottola* forms, and extended the spirit of the *ballata* in pre-baroque Rome. It usually presents an initial *ripresa* and two *piedi*, and even sometimes the final *volta* that was a hallmark of early Renaissance sung poetry.

Even more interesting is that the music is borrowed largely from pre-existing *laude*. Animuccia's books exhibit a large number of concordances with both the most important Florentine anthology—the Dominican Serafino Razzi's *Libro Primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice, Rampazetto: 1563)—and with several manuscript sources from the sixteenth century containing Tuscan *laude*. *Cuor maligno e pien di fraude* is a *lauda* on a text by Castellano Castellani. It appears with the same anonymous music in ms. Ferrajoli 84 of the Vatican Library (a retrospective anthology from the sixteenth century), in Razzi's anthology [Fig. 8.2], and in Animuccia's first book. Razzi's version differs in only two ways: at the chord just before the cadence at the first line, and in the scansion of the words 'Dies illa, dies irae' [Ex. 8.1].

Usually, the music Animuccia printed is more elaborate and often longer, and this of course makes all the difference. And yet the entire contents of his

²³ See Gallonio Antonio, *Vita beati p. Philippi Nerii Florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris in annos digesta* (Rome, apud Aloysium Zannettum: 1600) and Bacci Pietro Giacomo, *Vita del b. Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregatione dell'Oratorio* (Rome, appresso Andrea Brugotti, nella stamperia di Pietro Discepolo: 1622). See also Fenlon D., "Filippo Neri, santo", in Prosperi A. (ed.), *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols. (Pisa: 2010) II, 690–691.

²⁴ See the concordances in Wilson B., *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The 'cantasi come' Tradition (1375–1550)* (Florence: 2009).

TABLE 8.1 *Poets set in music in Animuccia's Primo libro delle laudi (Rome, Valerio Dorico: 1563)****Laude by Savonarola and Savonarolan poets***

Girolamo Savonarola: 1	<i>Iesu sommo conforto</i>
Feo Belcari: 8	<i>Ben venga amore</i> <i>Iesu Iesu Iesu</i> <i>L'oration'è sempre buona</i> <i>Laudate Dio</i> <i>Poi ch'e'l cor mi string'e serra</i> <i>Quando ti parti o Iesu vita mia</i> <i>Quanto più penso o Dio</i> <i>Giù per la mala via (attr.)</i>
Girolamo Benivieni: 4	<i>Chi non è Iesu teco</i> <i>Non è cibo alcun più grato</i> <i>Non fu mai 'l più bel sollazzo</i> <i>Vinca 'l tuo immenso Amore</i> <i>Cuor maligno e pien di fraude</i> <i>Non fu mai più dolce Amore</i> <i>Ogni giorno tu mi di'</i> <i>Oimè (lasso) oimè</i> <i>S'io mor'in Croce per te</i>
Castellano de' Castellani: 5	

Laude by other Tuscan poets

Anton Francesco d'Albizo	
(Francesco degli Albizzi): 3	<i>Ardiam di carità</i> <i>Ognun devotamente facci oration</i> <i>Poi ch'io t'hebbi nel core</i>
Niccolò Fabbroni: 1	<i>Dimmi cor mio</i>
Lucrezia Tornabuoni (de' Medici): 1	<i>Deh venitene Pastori</i>
Michele Chelli: 1	<i>Vergine tu mi fai</i>

Laude by non Tuscan poets

Leonardo Giustinian (attr.): 3	<i>Anima benedetta</i> <i>Benedetto sia lo giorno</i> <i>Disposto ho di seguirti</i>
Jacopone da Todi: 1	<i>Purità Dio ti mantenga</i>

C A N T V S

A quatuor uoci

Cor malign'e pien di fraude, che nō pensi di morire.

T E N O R

Cor malign'e pien di fraude, che non pensi di morire.

A L T V S

Cor maligno, e pien di fraude, che nō pensi di morire.

B A S S V S

Cor maligno, e pien di fraude, che nō pensi di morire.

Tutte le seguenti Canzoni si cantano in sulla medesima Aria. *Laude*

FIGURE 8.2 *Cuor maligno e pien di fraude*, from *Serafino Razzi* (ed.), *Libro Primo delle Laudi spirituali da diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antichi e moderni composte* (Venice, Rampazetto, *ad instantia de' Giunti di Firenze: 1563*) 28v.

#

Cuer ma - li - gno e pien di frau - de, che non pen - si di mo - ri - re,

Di - es il - la, di - es i - rae, di - es ma - gna et a - ma - ra val - de.

EXAMPLE 8.1 *Giovanni Animuccia, Cuor maligno e pien di fraude, from idem, Il primo libro delle laudi (Rome, Valerio Dorico: 1563)* 19.

first book are borrowed. The composer may have transcribed *lauda* tunes from now lost manuscript sources, or modeled his melodies and arrangements on those performed by the dissident Florentine Republicans in Rome in their spiritual gatherings and handed down through collective memory. These ancient song structures changed gradually and the *ripresa* disappeared in the 1580s. But even in the late *lauda* books, one can find many Florentine *laude*, remodeled in very simple stanza forms, just as the successful *canzonetta*.

The Oratorian ‘fiorentinità’

Political and ethical factors were crucial for this musical revival. Neri was a Florentine, like the majority of his first disciples. They gathered in the circles of the Florentine diaspora around S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. The concept of *fiorentinità* helps our study of these Roman devotions and sung poetry, especially the *lauda*. Neri had fled Florence when the Medici returned to power after the fall of the Republic. His father was a *piagnone*, a supporter of Savonarola’s, and as a priest, Filippo Neri was closely linked to the second Dominican community in Rome, located in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. He was even one of the leaders of the movement to rehabilitate Savonarola. Animuccia, the first composer who worked for Neri, was also a Florentine. He and his wife Tullia, whom he met in the circle of Tuscan immigrants in Rome, displayed an austere form of personal piety. After his death, Animuccia was even the subject of a kind of hagiography, constructed by the Oratorians around two events: a *post mortem* apparition (both visual and auditive) of Animuccia to the musician Gaspare Brissio in the Oratorian church; and the spiritual link Animuccia helped establish between two future ‘Savonarolan’ saints, the Dominican Caterina de’ Ricci and Neri himself (Animuccia went twice to Prato—which, with Lucca, remained a major center for Savonarola’s cult—and symbolically introduced Neri to Caterina).²⁵

Savonarolism and religious heterodoxies seem to have been conspicuous features of the Florentine presence in Rome. And Savonarolism is associated with the promotion and conservation of the traditional *lauda*. It seems important to me that both Razzi and Neri, major supporters of *lauda* singing in early modern Italy, also were strong supporters of Savonarola, although they belonged to different parties. Furthermore, both wrote on Savonarola: Neri in 1559, Razzi in 1599.²⁶ The Savonarolism of Neri and his companions was reinforced by personal, spiritual, and pastoral relationships with the Dominican

25 See Piéjus A., “Il savonarolismo di san Filippo Neri attraverso poesie e canti”, in Caldelli E. – Abbamondi L. (eds.), 1515–2015: *V Centenario della nascita di Filippo Neri, un santo dell’Età moderna: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 16–17 settembre 2015* (Rome: forthcoming).

26 Neri’s “Annotations” were probably connected with the efforts of Savonarola’s Florentine followers, who produced several copies of the first *Vite* in those years in order to advocate for Savonarola’s Catholic orthodoxy: see Dall’Aglio S., *Savonarola e il savonarolismo* (Bari: 2005), and the entry “Savonarola, Girolamo”, in Prosperi, *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione III*, 1186–1187. Razzi wrote a life of Savonarola in 1599, that was refused publication by Pope Clement VIII.



FIGURE 8.3 Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali, stampate ad instantia degli Reverendi Padri della Congregatione dell'Oratorio. Con una Instruzione per promovere e conservare il peccatore Convertito (*Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1577*), title page. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 165(2).

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community of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and especially with Savonarolan factions, at a time when the Dominicans were divided. Neri, dubbed ‘the new Dominique’, diligently frequented the Minerva; he held a key to the novitiate and regularly listened to the Dominican preachers. Neri steered those who wanted to enter religion towards the Minerva: indeed, he is said to have sent there ‘over a hundred people’;²⁷ among them was Nicola Ridolfi, nephew of Alessandro de’ Medici and future *Maestro del Sacro Palazzo*. The Minerva housed a large group of Florentines, including fervent Savonarolans like Paolo Bernardini, author of a treatise on the contradiction of the condemnation of Savonarola, who became a close friend of Neri’s, or Fra Timoteo (Giovanni Battista Ricci), half-brother (uncle according to Dall’Aglio) of Caterina de’ Ricci. Fra Timoteo was prior until 1580, before being appointed provincial, and before he returned to end his days in S. Marco in Florence.

Neri borrowed many pastoral and spiritual ideas from Savonarola, promoting all aspects of a *vita vivilis* associated with a form of Christian republicanism, a rejection of social elitism, more marked than it is in the generic pauperism of the mendicant orders.²⁸ The consequences of this Savonarolism on music writing—especially Animuccia’s—can be summarized as a rejection of *ornatus*, but also by the resumption of certain Biblical mottos and quotations (for example Psalm 8, ‘Ecce quam bonum’, the rallying cry of Savonarola’s supporters).²⁹

One of the Oratorian music books, the *Terzo libro delle laudi* (1577) dedicated to the Dominican Michele Bonelli (known as ‘il Cardinale Alessandrino’ and head of Santa Maria sopra Minerva), confirms that *lauda* singing played the role of a musical practice that connected the two communities [Fig. 8.3]. This symbolic gift of music is accompanied by a dedication letter that mentions common devotions in the cloister of the great Dominican convent, and suggests that this repertory could also appeal to the Dominicans, who shared the same cultural background, since most of them came from the Republican diaspora. These *laude* are the simplest ones, and many of them come from Florentine carnival songs, parodied as religious *laude* [Fig. 8.4].

²⁷ See the testimony by G. Sansedoni in Incisa della Ronchetta G. – Vian N. (eds.), *Il primo processo per S. Filippo Neri nel codice vaticano latino 3798*, 4 vols. (Vatican City: 1957–1963) IV (1963), 96.

²⁸ See for example the first *Vita* of Neri written by Gallonio: Gallonio Antonio, *Vita di San Filippo Neri: pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1601*, ed. M.T. Bonadonna Russo (Rome: 1995).

²⁹ See Piéjus, *Musique et dévotion* and Schmidt, *Die römische Lauda*.

19.

Lauda Spirituale. CANTO.

Giovenetti con fervore
Deh fuggite il vano desir,
Se vi volete vestire
Del diuin' e fano amore.
Se Giesù ferini volere
Col craor letto hamile puro
Presto f'empre in uo hauete:
Dala laleate el mondo d'caso,
E le pate al tenio duro,
Qui confusite la straneza
Che vi dà nel Ciel salute
Ceo l'eterno Creatore.
Giovenetti &c.

Giovenetti con fervore dch fuggite il ua desir,
Se si uolice vestire del diuin' e fano amore.
Giovenetti con fervore del diuin' e fuggite il van desir
Se vi volete vestire del diuin' e fannamore.
dolce **freno amore,**

Da Giesù glorificano,
Ciachedona i adori, e laudi
Con gli sponti proni e caldi,
E laudate ogo' alt' errore.
Giovenetti &c.

Non vilasciate ingannate
Dal demon' con falso inganno,
Chi ui vorrebbe mostrare,
Che son lunghi li volti' anni:
Fuggi' hor prenderidanni,
E peniate, che la morte
Fa le soffrir'e fier cont,
Ma eterno, è poi' dolore
Giovenetti &c.

Piò tutti con buon zelo
State sempre in oratione,
Era habitare in Cielo,
Con Dio flando in uinone,
Darem alla deuotione,
Ne Signor, che'l Ciel si moltra, Habitate i luoghi Santi,
E vi chiama a tutte l'hoire.
Giovenetti &c.

Contemplate giovenetti,
Che ch'è di Dio infiammatissima,
Gulta l'arra de gl' celesti,
E alla far't beate

D 4

FIGURE 8.4 Giovenetti con fervore, from Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali, stampate ad instantia dellii Reverendi Padri della Congregazione dell'Oratorio. Con una Instruzione per promovere e conservare il peccatore Convertito (Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado:1577) 49. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 165(2).

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Giovenetti con fervore	Young people with fervor
Deh fuggite il van desire,	Come and flee the vain desire,
Se vi volete vestire	If you want to dress yourself
Del divino e santo amore.	In divine and holy love.

This *lauda*, popular in Florence during the early Renaissance, is a *barzelletta* by Francesco d'Albizo. It clearly parodies the following carnival song, attested in written sources from 1485: 'Giovanetti con fervore / non vogliate più indugiare' or 'Deh, maestri, con fervore', which was a *canzona delle vedove e de' medici* (song of widows and doctors).³⁰ A hundred years later, the Oratorians retained the melody of the carnival song, arranging it for three voices.

Singing Versus Listening

That musical simplicity had a social function is made explicit in the *Terzo libro*'s reference to the participation of the crowd.³¹ It is, however, the only Oratorian book to do so: the Oratorian *laude* were mostly sung by professional singers, even singers from the Papal Chapel. The vocal participation of the faithful is therefore not sufficient to account for the old-fashioned stylistic choices of the Oratorian *lauda*.

In fact, retaining outmoded stylistic features made sense when non-professional performers were expected to participate in the devotional singing. But Neri's gatherings were completely different from those of a monastic community or even those of lay confraternities or brotherhoods.³² Many oratories were open to the public and anyone could attend them, and the devotees were not trained in singing. In late sixteenth-century Rome, most of the people who attended Neri's spiritual gatherings did not know the Florentine melodies. The chain of aural transmission had been broken and the devotees were more used to listening to music than to singing it themselves.

³⁰ See Ghisi F., *I canti carnascialeschi* (Florence: 1937) 88, 98; MacClintock C., "A Court Musician's Songbook: Modena MS C 311", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9, 3 (1956) 177–192, at 184.

³¹ 'È parso a' Padri, per onor di N[ostro] S[ignore] e per consolazione de' devoti, procurar quest'altro, che fusse il Terzo libro, ma con più facilità e semplicità musicale, acciò possa esser cantato da tutti, il che per la maggior parte non avveniva de' due primi libri: *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1577), n.p.

³² See O'Regan N. "Marenzio's Golden Chain: Music and Homosocial Bonding in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome", in Piperno F. (ed.), *Luca Marenzio e il madrigale romano* (Rome: 2007) 39–62.

Surprisingly, though the vocal participation of the faithful seems to have been only occasional, the Oratorians, in their correspondence and in the dedication letters of their music books, tended to overvalue this collective embodiment, assuming that their music prints would reflect not only their devotions, but a collective expression, shared by all. This may explain the reason why, in their writings, they systematically characterized the Florentine *lauda* repertory as 'simple' and 'sincere'. But in fact, this is a projection of modern thinking onto the past. Many early musical pieces retained by the Oratorians present a relatively complex structure: that of the *ballata*, a form that had fallen into disuse by that time. In fact, the evolution of the *ballata* form clearly reveals a misunderstanding of the *volta* function in the late sixteenth century. Composers and editors tended to simplify it, replacing both *volta* and *ripresa* by regular *stanze* [Table 8.2].

TABLE 8.2 *The ballata Questo nobil bambino set as a strophic canzonetta*

	Music form: <i>ballata</i>		Music form: <i>canzonetta</i>
<i>Ripresa</i>	Questo nobil bambino Ch'è nato di Maria Oimè, chi 'l possedesse, Quanto bene averia.	A	Questo nobil bambino Ch'è nato di Maria Oimè, chi 'l possedesse, Quanto bene averia.
<i>Stanza</i>	Ei nasce innamorato Per noi inamorare, E tutti liberare Dal giogo del peccato, Onde stolto ed ingrato	A	Ei nasce innamorato Per noi inamorare, E tutti liberare Dal giogo del peccato, Onde stolto ed ingrato
<i>Volta</i>	Oimè, chi 'l possedesse, Quanto bene averia.	A	Oimè, chi 'l possedesse, Quanto bene averia.

It is most likely that the relationship established between a traditional repertory and the concept of simplicity was subject to both spiritual and political influences. The reference to Savonarola inspired not only the practice of *laude* but also its inclusion in an ethical and philosophical tradition that can be summarized by the concepts of simplicity, humility, and by a strong rejection of any kind of rhetorical elaboration. At the time of Savonarola, the

rejection of any kind of ornament in church—whether organ music or curtains—led to a musical conflict between the Serviti and Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence.³³ This kind of aesthetic and ethical conflict was still relevant at the time of Neri. Both Savonarola and Neri were influenced by the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas and his well-known deliberations about exteriority and interiority.

This ethical and aesthetical choice was linked to a long tradition, both Biblical and anti-rhetorical, that set the truth against eloquence, just as if any elaboration of speech had to be opposed to the core, to the essence of the word as a reflection of the divine word. This conviction turned into a debate about the sincerity of the word, as opposed to artifice. This music, used for enticing the faithful or ‘conquering souls’,³⁴ has completely given in to the *Trivium*; but still, the ethics of stylistic elaboration remains strongly linked to the tradition of the efficiency of a humble but sincere human praise. In fact, the stylistic restriction was considered not as an invitation to mediocrity but, on the contrary, as a challenge to artists.

Animuccia’s second book of *laude* was published in 1570 [Fig. 8.5]. Music historians usually insist on the complexity of this second book, claiming that the simple *lauda* was no longer able to touch the Roman public.³⁵ Much more demanding than its predecessor, this book mixes *laude* with Latin compositions. In his dedication letter to abbot Podocattaro, the composer explains that he has sought variety in everything. He thus decided to associate motets and *laude*, quite innovative in their texts and in their musical style, with very traditional four-part *laude*. Moreover, this book was the first example of double-choir music not only sung, but also printed in Rome.³⁶

Despite this aesthetic choice, Animuccia’s intent was to maintain a certain simplicity; yet his second book was destined to be sung in front of the Roman cultured devotees who now frequented Neri’s gatherings. For this simple reason, one feels very clearly the difficulty in handling the fixed forms of traditional poetry and the new demands of musical sophistication. For instance,

³³ See D’Accone F., *Music in Renaissance Florence: Studies and Documents*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot: 2006), and Zanovello G., “In the Church and in the Chapel’: Music and Devotional Spaces in the Florentine Church of Santissima Annunziata”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, 2 (2014) 279–428.

³⁴ See De Boer W., *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: 2001).

³⁵ See for example Fenlon, “Music and Reform”.

³⁶ On Roman polychorality, see O’Regan, N., *Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome, 1575–1621*, D.Phil. diss. (University of Oxford: 1988).

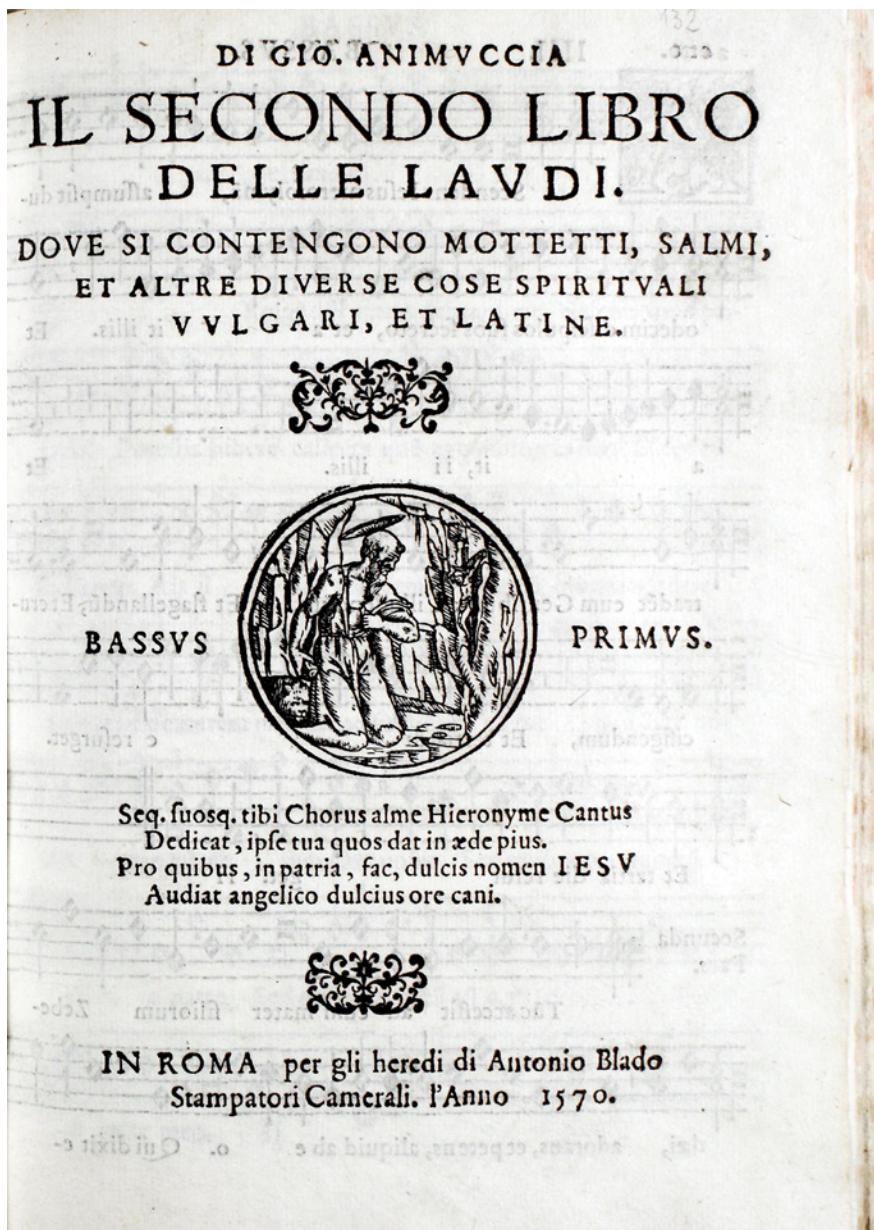


FIGURE 8.5 Giovanni Animuccia, Il secondo libro delle laudi. Dove si contengono mottetti, salmi, et altre diverse cose spirituali vulgari, et latine (*Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1570*). Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. Q. V. 265(1).

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Animuccia sets a sonnet, a high, noble poetic genre, for six voices, and treats it as a madrigal, dividing it in two parts, without any repeats. In his dedication letter, the composer wrote that one should achieve simplicity, recognized as superior to complexity, since it was more conducive to singing the praises of God and being heard by Him.

Sono già alcuni anni che per consolazione di coloro che venivano all'Oratorio di S. Girolamo, io mandai fuori il Primo Libro delle Laudi, nelle quali attesi a servare una certa semplicità, che alle parole medesime, alla qualità di quel divoto luogo, ed al mio fine, che era solo di eccitar di-vozione, pareva si convenisse.³⁷

Quite a few years ago, for the consolation of those who came to the Oratory of S. Girolamo, I published the First Book of *Laude*, in which I attempted to preserve a certain simplicity that appeared to be adequate to the words, to the quality of that devout place, and to my purpose, which was only to encourage devotion.

There is in fact a contradiction between the eyewitness testimonies, barely mentioning the faithful and reporting that music was always polyphonic and sung by professional singers, and the Oratorian texts that comment on their musical activities as simple collective prayers. The Oratorian *lauda* appears as a symptom of an impressive switch between two worlds—not successive, but contemporary worlds.

On the one hand, we observe a musical practice associated with brotherhoods and confraternities and their long history where the singing was collective and produced by the devotees. It occupied the urban soundscape and involved many people. On the other hand, we see a concert setting, contemporaneous with the rise of solo music, in which the *lauda* was conceived as an aesthetic object whose effectiveness was judged by listening rather than by singing. The reception issues are no longer those of the singer, characterized by a physical commitment and embodiment inseparable from the listening, but that of a listener.

Yet the Oratorians, who also commissioned magnificent polychoral Masses for their church, always considered the *lauda* as an expression of the community. Examining the poems, we notice that even the newest ones tended to perpetuate the habit of a devotional prayer expressed in the first person

³⁷ Dedication Letter to abbot Podocattaro, in Animuccia Giovanni, *Il secondo libro delle laudi* (Rome, Blado: 1570).

singular, though they were performed by professional singers and adopted the setting of a concert. In fact, the singers were considered as the spokesmen of the faithful, carrying their words and often their prayer, dressing it up in a more artistic and elegant way.

As far as we know, the faithful were deeply concerned by music also because of the attention paid to individual and collective reception. Hagiographic records, just as eyewitness testimonies, insist on the sensory impact of this devotional music. Like their contemporaries, but maybe more than others, Oratorians systematically associated musical emotion with many other effects. In the *oratori*, the *lauda* assumed the function of vocal prayer, usually preceded by a sermon, and followed by mental prayer.

In public devotions, music was also associated with a wide range of pleasant effects and sensations, brought about by games (such as hopscotch), beautiful walks, but also some ‘consolations’, such as the highly anticipated picnic on the grass that was given freely to all pilgrims during the Seven Churches pilgrimage. And I would mention also the pleasure of wonder: an important element of these devotions was the preaching by *putti* (young boys)—a practice that enjoyed an incredible success and that is attested to by several sources. The engraving reproduced in Figure 8.6, and published in an anthology of Oratorian sermons dedicated to Pope Clement VIII, features a little boy, Francesco van Aelst, aged 7 or 8, preaching from memory and, in accordance with a medieval mnemotechnical practice, counting on his fingers.

The Oratorians were anxious to measure the emotional effects of their devotions on the faithful. For instance, they were particularly attentive to tears. Tears, considered a sign of sanctity at the time, were expected after the sermon as well as after music. Spiritual tears enjoyed utmost consideration. Tears and sometimes sounds, sighs, and mumbles, were considered as signs of assent, and even as a capitulation of the sinner, as we can read in several depositions at Neri’s canonization process.³⁸ Mostly considered as the sensory manifestation of a mystic experience, tears also assumed an important function in the dynamics of Oratorian sociability.

The impressive switch between two ways of participating in music—one based on singing, the other on listening³⁹—was strongly fostered by the closer attention paid to reception, which, I think, may be considered as the most original trait of pastoral care in the early seventeenth century, and one of the

³⁸ See Incisa della Ronchetta – Vian, *Il primo processo per S. Filippo Neri*. More generally, see A. Gramiccia (ed.), *Docere, delectare, movere: Affetti, devozione e retorica nel linguaggio artistico del primo barocco romano* (Rome: 1998).

³⁹ See Piéjus, *Musique et dévotion* 321–322.



FIGURE 8.6 Anon., portrait of Francesco van Aelst, in *Scelta d'alcuni sermoni composti da diversi, et recitati avanti alla santità di n.s. papa Clemente VIII et alcuni illustrissimi cardinali, e nell'oratorio di santa Maria in Vallicella da un fanciullo d'anni VII chiamato Francesco Van Aelst romano* (*Rome, G. Facciotti: 1599*). Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, S. Borr. B. I. 172.

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most important preconditions for the development of baroque aesthetics. Musicologists tend to consider this evolution merely from an aesthetic point of view. But we should take into account the concomitance between the adoption of the spiritual concert pattern and the contemporary debates concerning the spiritual subject, which, in fact, occupied a prominent position in the religious issues of the time—for instance, in the long debates about the individual reading of the sacred texts and about the dialectic between vocal and mental prayer, but also in the deep interest for individual confession.⁴⁰ The evolution of Oratorian music undoubtedly reflects and illustrates the special attention devoted to the construction of a spiritual individual in contemporary pastoral care.

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⁴⁰ See, among many excellent studies, De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*; Prosperi A., *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin: 1996). The rise of confession manuals also testifies to the great success of a politics of control on the individual during the late Renaissance.

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‘Changing their tune’: Sacred Music and the Recasting of English Post-Reformation Identity at St. Alban’s College, Valladolid

Andrew Cichy

The Real Colegio de los Ingleses, established at Valladolid in 1589, was the first English institution founded in Spain after the Reformation.¹ The foundation of an English seminary in Spain during the undeclared Anglo-Spanish War (1585–1604) was not without controversy. With the Spanish Armada having recently suffered a humiliating and costly defeat at the hands of English forces, one might surmise that goodwill towards England and even English Catholics would have been in short supply. As the highest ecclesiastical authority in Valladolid before the erection of a bishopric, the prelate of the city’s collegiate church opposed the establishment of the College on the grounds that its students would come from a country ‘steeped in heresy’, while the College’s Jesuit connections earned it the enmity of Inquisitor Juan Vigil de Quiñones.² Nonetheless, plans to open an English College in Valladolid proceeded with the support of Philip II, who in 1590 endowed it with an annual pension. Evidently there was some awareness of continued local apprehension since the College was to be administered by Spanish rather than English Jesuits, although English clergy also worked there. Against a backdrop of local animus, there was a pressing need for the English students and their teachers to ingratiate themselves with their Vallisoletan hosts, thereby shoring up political and financial support for this missionary seminary. In seeking opportunities to build bridges, however, the College was hobbled by a constitution

¹ It was not, however, the first time English Catholics had established an institutional presence in Spain. The chapel at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, set up for English merchants in the early sixteenth century, predates the English Reformation. See Williams M.E., *St. Alban’s College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London: 1986) 269–273.

² Williams, *St. Alban’s College Valladolid* 8. See also McCoog T.M., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain’s Monarchy* (Aldershot: 2012) 109.

that largely prevented students from engaging in personal interactions with anybody who was not a member of the College.³

There is some evidence to suggest that the College was mindful of music's potential in helping develop a rapport with the local authorities. When Philip III visited the College in 1600, for instance, he was impressed by the singing and instrumental performances the students presented in his honor.⁴ As if to attempt to bridge the cultural gap between England and Spain, the students performed a 'sweet and artificial song made after their country['s] manner of musicke and the ditty in Spanish to the purpose [...] and the English musicke with the Spanish ditty gave extraordinary contentment to all'.⁵ Nevertheless, such similar occasions were comparatively rare. Moreover, they did little to negate perceptions of the College's 'otherness'—the students were, after all, performing English repertoires for their Spanish hosts. Weekly public devotions to Nuestra Señora de la Vulnerata, however—for which the College developed a substantial musical regimen, and which persisted throughout the seventeenth century—provided a regular opportunity for the College's officers and students to reshape local perceptions of the institution. Through the sustained, regular use of liturgical and devotional practices that were familiar to their hosts, the English guests demonstrated that while they came from a country 'steeped in heresy', they were eager to return to their homeland to wage war against error and schism—armed, of course, with the spiritual weapons in which they had been tutored in Valladolid. This chapter considers the role of music in the context of these practices—and, in particular, the ways in which styles were appropriated to manifest a reformed religious character that was consonant with local expectations—and the combined effect of these on the College's identity among the institutions and citizens of Valladolid.

La Vulnerata: A Brief History

In what was one of the most devastating campaigns of the Anglo-Spanish War, English and Dutch forces attacked the Spanish port of Cadiz on 30 June 1596.

³ See the College constitutions, reproduced in Henson E. (ed.), *The Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589–1862*, Publications of the Catholic Record Society 30 (London: 1930) 252–262.

⁴ For a description and analysis of the event, see Cichy A., "Music, Meditation, and Martyrdom in a Seventeenth-Century English Seminary", *Music & Letters* 97, 2 (2016) 205–220.

⁵ Ortiz Antonio, *A Relation of the Solemnitie Wherewith the Catholike Princes K. Phillip the III. and Quene Margaret Were Receyued in the Inglish Colledge of Valladolid the 22 of August. 1600.* trans. Francis Rivers (Antwerp, A. Conincx: 1601) 39.

Taking Spanish forces by surprise, they quickly overran the city. When their attention turned to looting and sacking, English troops entered a church, seized a statue of the Virgin and Child, and dragged it into the street, where they defaced it with their sabers. It was as a result of this public act of desecration that the statue came to be known as 'la vulnerata' or 'the wounded one'.⁶ The statue—now missing the Virgin's arms and all but the feet of the Christ child—became an object of renewed devotion, and the Conde de Santa Gadea transferred the statue to Madrid where he gave it a place of honor in his private oratory. When the procurator of St. Alban's College, John Blackfan, learned of the statue's existence, he approached the Conde and his wife with a view to acquiring the statue for the students, but the couple was reluctant to part with it.⁷ Not to be easily discouraged, the students sent a petition to Philip III asking for the statue to be brought to the College so that they could make reparation for the offenses committed against it by their countrymen. The king acceded and, amid much pomp and ceremony, the statue was installed in their chapel in the presence of the Queen and Valladolid's civil and ecclesiastical authorities on 8 September 1600.⁸

While some scholarship has focused on the statue as either a symbol of England after the Reformation⁹ or as an emblem of martyrdom,¹⁰ the statue and the public devotions held in its honor—and the resultant soundscape—are embedded within a broader range of social and political meanings that warrant further discussion. So too does the complex interplay between identification and exchange as the College constructed and negotiated its identity

⁶ For an extensive history of the statue, see Burrieza Sánchez J., *Virgen de los ingleses, entre Cádiz y Valladolid: una devoción desde las guerras de religión* (Valladolid: 2008).

⁷ John Blackfan, S.J. (1561–1641) was the Rector of St. Alban's College, Valladolid from c.1615 (after the death of Anthony Hoskins, S.J. on 10 September of that year) until November 1617. He wrote a history of the College's foundation and progress—usually called the *Blackfan Annals*—that records the College's history and progress until 1616. See Harris P.E.B. (ed.), *The Blackfan Annals* (Valladolid: 2008). For a full listing of Blackfan's movements and his offices at the College, see McCoog T.M., *English and Welsh Jesuits, 1555–1650. Part 1*, Publications of the Catholic Record Society 74 (London: 1994).

⁸ For a full account, see *Recebimiento que se hizo en Valladolid a una imagen de Nuestra Señora*, trans. Tomás Eclesal (Madrid: 1600) and Rome, Archives of the Venerable English College, L1422. The text of the latter is reproduced in Harris P.E.B. – Cano Echevarría B. – Sáez Hidalgo A. (eds.), *The Fruits of Exile: Emblems and Pamphlets from the English College at Valladolid* (Valladolid: 2009) 637–662.

⁹ Shell A., "English Catholicism and Drama, 1578–1688", D.Phil. diss. (University of Oxford: 1992) 374.

¹⁰ Davidson P., "The Solemnity of the Madonna Vulnerata, Valladolid, 1600", in idem – Bepler J. (eds.), *The Triumphs of the Defeated: Early Modern Festivals and Messages of Legitimacy* (Wiesbaden: 2007) 39–54.

as an institution of English exiles in a Spanish city. The Vulnerata devotions were not solely an act of prayer made *in* public, but an act of prayer specifically designed to be heard, seen and experienced *by* the public—and by extension for the public to hear, see, and experience the English College for themselves.

Music and La Vulnerata

Liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies in honor of La Vulnerata were held in the College chapel every Saturday (and other feast days specified in the *Diarios*),¹¹ for which the statue was unveiled and exposed to public view. These consisted of a votive Mass of the Virgin Mary in the morning and a Salve in the late afternoon, both of which were sung. These carefully regulated ceremonies were recorded in the College's customary (the *Diarios de los Costumbres*). First drafted in 1600 when the statue was brought to the College and regular public devotions commenced, the customs were revised in 1663, 1664, 1676, 1693, and 1699, usually after a visitation had been conducted. Unusually for a text of this kind, detailed instructions specify both when music was to be performed in the ceremonies, and also the kinds of music to be used, varying according to the liturgical calendar. These instructions point to the existence of a rich musical life at the College from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The description of music at the Saturday morning Lady Mass is both extraordinary and unexceptional: extraordinary as there is no surviving evidence of the musical practices of any other seventeenth-century English Catholic institution that describes the music in such detail; yet ordinary when considered alongside the liturgical music of other colleges and churches in Valladolid (and further afield).

Introitus cantu gregoriano: Kyrie alternatim cum cantu gregoriano:
Gloria cum organo. Post epistolam (quæ cantabitur in Choro) pulsabitur
organum, et cantabitur Alleluia cantu gregoriano. Ad Elevationem mo-
tetum aliquod de Beata Virgine, quod durabit usque ad Communionem.
Post Communionem cantu gregoriano. Ite, Missa est, cum organo.¹²

¹¹ Mgr Edwin Henson transcribed and translated most of the contents of the *Diarios* into English between 1942 and 1947. It is this transcription and translation that is quoted (with slight changes where necessary) throughout the article. The original manuscript is found at Valladolid, St. Alban's College Archive, L 16; Henson's translation is Valladolid, St. Alban's College Archive, TRANS 9.

¹² Ibid., fol. 19r.

The introit in Gregorian chant, the Kyrie alternating with Gregorian chant, the Gloria with organ. After the epistle (which is sung in the choir) the organ will be played, and the *Alleluia* will be sung in Gregorian chant. At the elevation some motet referring to the Blessed Virgin, that will last until the communion. After the communion Gregorian chant. *Ite, Missa est*, with the organ.¹³

Compared with the instructions for paraliturgical rites in the *Diarios*, these directions for music at Mass seem almost careless and casual: the writer has not attempted to describe all the ceremonies in detail, failing to describe any of the music sung from the offertory until after the consecration. It is as though what was to happen musically at Mass was considered so obvious that it did not merit a lengthy description—that is, there was nothing about this Mass at St. Alban's College that distinguished it from the practice of other churches in Valladolid. It is as though this little English community had simply taken its place among other Catholic institutions in the city and was doing what was expected of any other religious community in Valladolid at the time.

The details of the paraliturgical Antiphon and Salve ceremonies suggest these received a more elaborate musical treatment that, in addition to the organ and vocal repertoire above, incorporated instrumental music:

En las Antiphonas y Salve. Sale el Sacerdote [...] al Altar mayor, y primero se tañe un motete con instrumentos sin voces, y al comenzar del 2º motete con voces descubre el sacerdote la Imagen, y si es commemoracion de nra S^a diciendo la oracion de la Antiphona de aquel tiempo, y acavada la oracion cubre la Imagen. Las fiestas 1^{ae} Classis se tañe luego 3º motete.¹⁴

At the Antiphons and Salve. The priest [...] goes to the high altar, and first an instrumental motet without singers is played; then comes a second motet, this time sung, during which the priest unveils the statue, and if a feast of Our Lady is being commemorated, he says the antiphon of that day and after the prayer he veils the statue. At first class feasts, a third motet is then played.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid., fols. 20r, 21r.

¹⁴ Ibid., fol. 17r.

¹⁵ Ibid., fol. 18r.

In Sabato cantabitur Salve Regina, et ante huiusmodi cantum pulsabitur in organo vel clavicymbano aliquod motetum cum aliqua voce, vel sine illa.¹⁶

On Saturday the Salve Regina will be sung, but before this a motet will be played on the organ or harpsichord with or without sung words.¹⁷

Decisions about the types of music to be used appear to have been aligned with the solemnity of the liturgical occasion, evidenced by the variations in the Antiphon and Salve ceremonies according to the class of the feast on which they took place:

In festis 2^{ae} classis erunt duo moteta. 1^{um} cum instrumentis, 2^{um} cum vocibus, et postea cantabitur oratio conveniens. In festis vero 1^{ae} class. post orationem decantabitur motetum cum instrumentis.¹⁸

On feasts of second class there will be two motets: the first with musical instruments, the second with voices, and afterwards the appropriate prayer will be sung. But in feasts of the first class a motet accompanied by instruments will be sung after the prayer.¹⁹

Even from the limited extracts above (there are many more references to liturgical music in the *Diarrios*) it is clear that the English students performed a very rich variety of liturgical music in their chapel. The sheer breadth of their musical fare is remarkable: polyphonic motets, plainchant sometimes alternating with organ versets, instrumental music, motets accompanied by instruments, and solo organ music. Other parts of the *Diarrios* help to give some idea of the ambition of the undertaking: three choirmasters were to be appointed annually on St. Luke's day and were to be given three different halls in which to teach, depending on whether the singers were 'beginners', 'making progress' or 'perfect'.²⁰ Half an hour of choir practice was scheduled daily²¹ and further time was set aside for practicing on instruments.²² A prefect of musical instruments and choirbooks had ensured the College's instruments were properly tuned and that motets were marked and placed in order before the bell was

¹⁶ Ibid., fol. 19r.

¹⁷ Ibid., fol. 20r.

¹⁸ Ibid., fol. 19r.

¹⁹ Ibid., fol. 20r.

²⁰ Ibid., fol. 60r.

²¹ Ibid., fols. 45r and 48r.

²² Ibid., fol. 55r.

rung to call students to Mass.²³ Students were evidently expected to sing and play and, if unable to do so, would be taught.

Cultural Exchanges

In the context of English seminaries under Jesuit management during the early seventeenth century, such a high level of musical activity is not insignificant: while St. Alban's was busily compiling descriptions of music in its liturgical rites and training its students to provide it, Robert Persons²⁴ was writing to Spain, advising the Society to eliminate music at the College completely, just as he had done at the Venerable English College in Rome.²⁵ To Persons, music was an unnecessary expense; his experience had taught him that hired boy singers were generally 'wicked' and that music, rather than moving students to piety, seemed instead to incite them to rebellion.²⁶ That music at the College was not severely curtailed when students rioted three years later suggests that there were important reasons for its retention.²⁷

One plausible explanation for the persistence of music at the College is that it was perceived as useful for continuing engagement with the local community. It would hardly have been politically astute, for instance, to cease musical performances when the Count of Fuensaldaña had donated his music books and viols to the College in or around 1600.²⁸ This was not an isolated example of Spanish cultural largesse: the Bishop of Cordoba, Don Francisco de Reynoso, donated a clavichord and the cathedral choir and musicians appear to have

²³ Ibid., fol. 24r.

²⁴ Robert Persons, S.J. (1546–1610) was a pivotal figure in the history of the English Mission. As a missionary, polemicist, and political intermediary, his contributions significantly shaped Jesuit responses to the English Reformation. He played a pivotal role in the establishment of the English Colleges in Valladolid, Seville, Madrid, and St. Omer, and was latterly appointed Rector of the English College in Rome, where he died aged sixty-three. See Houlston V., "Persons, Robert", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/21/101021474>.

²⁵ London, Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu (ABSI), Stonyhurst ms, Anglia A 11, No. 61. In his transcription of the letter, Leo Hicks, S.J. proposes that Persons was writing to 'Joseph Creswell, v. Prefect of the Mission'.

²⁶ See Robert Persons's letter to Paul Hoffaeus, S.J. on music at the Venerable English College in Rome (1587). Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Germ. 167, fols. 224r–224v.

²⁷ See Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid* 24.

²⁸ Ortiz Antonio, *Relación de la venida de los Reyes Católicos, al Collegio Inglés de Valladolid, en el mes de Agosto Año de 1600* (Madrid, Andrés Sánchez: 1600) 1ov.

donated their services for the great ceremony to enshrine La Vulnerata at the College. And the possibility that the College's chapel organ—the presence of which is confirmed by references to it in the *Diarios* and payments to an organist (see below)—was donated rather than bought would explain the lack of evidence to suggest that it was purchased.

In addition to its role as a beneficiary of cultural patronage, the English College exercised its own patronage over musicians in Valladolid. Evidence in the form of the College's *libros de gastos*, which record virtually all payments made by the institution from its foundation to the present day, strongly suggests that the College cultivated local influences on its musical culture. Regular payments to an organist are recorded for the period 1603 to 1608, when the College also hired singers for such important feast days as Corpus Christi and the feast of St. Alban, protomartyr of England.

Although the nature of the organist's duties at the College is difficult to determine, it is clear that he was no mere accompanist: several entries in the accounts for 1614, for instance, indicate that he was paid to teach the students.²⁹ Frustratingly, the accounts do not shed any light on precisely *what* he taught the students and the vast range of duties routinely undertaken by organists in the seventeenth century does not help us narrow down the possibilities any further: he could have taught them to play the organ, to sing individually or as a choir, or he may have tutored the instrumentalists who would have been necessary to play voluntaries or accompanied motets during Salve ceremonies. Details concerning the singers themselves are even more scant: there is no indication of the number of hired singers or information about the repertoire they sang. Fortunately, several books of music owned by the College during the sixteenth and seventeenth century offer some indication of the music that was heard in the chapel around this time. Evidently, the books were part of what was once a much larger collection. When the College was seized by agents of the Crown on 2 April 1767, an inventory of the contents of all the rooms, some of which contained music books, was compiled.³⁰ The two surviving musical prints are the superius partbook of an as-yet-unidentified edition of Orlando di Lasso's *Sacrae cantiones*³¹ and Alonso Lobo's *Liber primus missarum* (1602).

29 Valladolid, St. Alban's College Archive, *Libros de gastos* 1, fol. 406r.

30 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Jesuitas* 407, fols. 55r, 112r, 112v. By the time the College was seized, there were only two students studying at Valladolid, and none at the English Colleges in Madrid or Seville. It therefore seems very likely that the music books listed in the inventory had long lain neglected. See Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid* 72.

31 The edition appears to be unique, since it cannot be identified among the prints listed in Orlando di Lasso, *The Complete Motets 2: 'Sacrae cantiones'* (Nuremberg, 1562), ed. J. Erb, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* 133 (Middleton, WI: 2002).

From the foregoing, it should be clear that the College's musical practices had the potential to serve as points of cultural encounter and exchange. Regular lessons with local musicians introduced English students to a range of new influences; the survival of two books of printed music suggests that the College's students were exposed to a sophisticated and up to date Flemish and Spanish repertoire that most would not have heard before their arrival in Spain. The range of new musical influences may, in fact, have been much broader, given that Robert Persons had received a chest of items that included 'Musick bookes for Valladolid' in 1593 from Richard Verstegan, a book-buying agent based in Antwerp, where he would have had access to booksellers who stocked music by a very large range of Italian, Flemish, French, Spanish, and English composers.³²

That the College's chapel housed an organ that was in all likelihood Spanish, is an important measure of the degree of cultural exchange between the College and the city. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, broad national styles of organ building had been well established. While it is likely that the English clergy and students at the College did not dismiss their experience of keyboard repertoires from England out of hand, the mention of *alternatim* repertoires in connection with the Vulnerata devotions demonstrates that they had adopted some Castilian liturgical practices. The tradition of *alternatim* performance would have been virtually unknown to most of the young men who entered the College, having been born long after the Reformation and having usually only experienced the Catholic liturgy in clandestine contexts in their homeland. Exposed to the *alternatim* practice through their locally-employed organist—and having no English repertoire of their own to draw upon—they adopted the local liturgical practices as their own.

Self-Representation

The adoption of local liturgical practices by the English College seems to have been almost entirely wholesale. Indeed, any visitor to the chapel—even in its early seventeenth-century form³³—would have struggled to see any distinctively 'English' elements. Even the College's earliest surviving paintings

³² Pett A.G. (ed.), *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan*, Publications of the Catholic Record Society 52 (London: 1959) 187.

³³ The earliest chapel at the College does not survive, but such contemporary descriptions as those of Antonio Ortiz (Ortiz, *Relación de la venida*, 10r) do not point to any distinctively 'English' features, beyond the presence of several paintings of then-contemporary English martyrs.

of students who were martyred, dating from the 1620s,³⁴ are difficult to distinguish from martyr paintings commissioned by other Jesuit institutions in Valladolid and elsewhere.

It would be disingenuous to argue that the College's adoption of local liturgical practices had too much to do with an integration strategy. After all, the Tridentine liturgical reforms limited the capacity of individual institutions and dioceses to deviate from Pius V's codified liturgical books. By adopting these, the College was simply conforming to the established liturgical norms not only of Valladolid, but most Latin Rite dioceses in the world. Its devotional practices, however, were a different matter. In post-Reformation England, where attending Mass had become difficult and potentially dangerous, devotional exercises took on greater importance for Catholics in practicing their religion. Moreover, although also subject to regulation, there was a greater degree of fluidity and flexibility in these practices across Europe. Despite this—and despite the fact that the statue had been brought to the College on the pretext that the students would make reparation before it for the sacrilege committed by their countrymen—from the moment La Vulnerata arrived at St. Alban's College, all the public devotions connected with it were fundamentally Spanish: the procession that took the statue from Valladolid Cathedral to the College's chapel was attended by important local dignitaries and the Queen of Spain, who loaned some cloth of gold to adorn both the chapel and the statue.³⁵ In all of the other details provided in the *Relación*,³⁶ there is little to indicate the incorporation of any distinctively English cultural or devotional elements into the ceremonies.³⁷ A number of Spanish verses composed and presumably also recited, and perhaps sung, for the occasion provides further evidence of the degree to which the procession and the nine days of devotions and Masses that followed it drew upon elements of local culture.³⁸

It is hardly surprising that reparation was being made on Spanish terms: the English students were not only making reparation for the desecration of a statue, but for an attack on Spain's sovereignty. As a typical example of

³⁴ Williams M., "Images of Martyrdom in Paintings at the English College Valladolid", in Rees M.A. (ed.), *Leeds Papers on Symbol and Image in Iberian Arts* (Leeds: 1994) 51–71.

³⁵ Rome, Archives of the Venerable English College, L1422, fol. 6or.

³⁶ Ortiz, *Relación de la venida*.

³⁷ On English Catholic domestic devotions and music after the Reformation, see Murphy E.K., "Adoramus te Christe": Music and Post-Reformation English Catholic Domestic Piety", in Doran J. – Methuen C. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Religion and the Household*, Studies in Church History 50 (Woodbridge: 2014) 240–253.

³⁸ *Recibimiento que se hizo en Valladolid* 32–49.

sixteenth-century Spanish art, *La Vulnerata* symbolized not only what it depicted—namely the Virgin Mary and the Christ child—but also Spain's political and religious identity. The students' acts of reparation, therefore, apart from placing distance between themselves and the actions of their Protestant countrymen, were a tacit, public admission of Spanish moral superiority, manifested in the adoption of Spanish devotional and musical practices. As a result, the attack on Cadiz was reframed. What the English government categorized as a pre-emptive strike to reduce the risk of a Spanish invasion of England could now be redefined as the barbarous act of a nation of heretics. These Englishmen were not heretics but penitents, and through an extended, public act of reparation that employed and repurposed the community's own cultural apparatus, reframed perceptions of the English Mission.

Ironically, the adoption of public devotions according to local patterns, while aiding integration with the local community, simultaneously hindered opportunities for appropriate self-expression by the students, since the ritual texts and gestures were ordered and inflexible. Within this highly ordered environment, music was the dynamic element, providing opportunities for self-expression and communication that were not otherwise possible in liturgical contexts. Put another way, music was the only means by which students could 'make themselves heard' to the citizens of Valladolid with any degree of regularity. While it is true that the students also took part in public orations and disputations, these were occasional events. Whereas in public oratory, the students demonstrated their degree of integration by use of a variety of languages (including Castilian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew)³⁹ and by advancing arguments that were consonant with the values of their audience, in music, they adopted their audience's song as their own. The difference between the two is significant: in oratory, the students needed to persuade their audience that they were not 'the other' by means of their arguments; in musical performances, they demonstrated their integration by adopting the cultural devices of the local community wholesale. There was no need for persuasion by using the latter because in singing and playing the music of the local community, they demonstrated the engagement that in oratory they needed to prove. By making prominent use of cultural practices that were familiar to the local community—rather than allowing distinctively 'English' elements to predominate, as might have been expected in an English institution—they ceased to be foreign to it. In short, the College consciously adopted a policy of self-assimilation.

39 See Ortiz, *A Relation of the Solemnitie*, which lists all of the languages that the students spoke in an oration to Philip III on the occasion of his visit to the College, and includes transcriptions of some of the texts.

A problem remains with the theory proposed above: it is difficult to reconcile the seemingly cosmopolitan nature of the College's musical offerings with the idea that the students adopted Valladolid's music as their own. If the College was, in effect, adopting the time-honored missionary strategy of expressing its ideas in terms of local cultural mores, the performance of music from a range of Spanish, Flemish, and English sources, *inter alia*, would seem inconsistent with that approach. Valladolid, however, was no provincial backwater. Although it did not have vast markets for printed music as in Venice and Antwerp, it was evidently a city of informed and aware collectors: the collection of printed music at the cathedral includes works published in Venice, Antwerp, Rome, Madrid, and Milan, and even includes works by English composers Peter Philips and Richard Dering.⁴⁰ In performing music by a wide range of Continental composers, therefore, the College showed itself to be aware of local expectations and concerned about meeting them adequately.

Conclusions

The travails of music in English seminaries make for interesting reading.⁴¹ At the Venerable English College in Rome, late sixteenth-century lavishness was succeeded by moderation in the early seventeenth century, with musicians hired to play for services only on special occasions;⁴² at Douai, attempts by the Rector to do away with music lessons for students prompted Roman authorities to intervene, and a new Master of Music was appointed by 1620 as a result.⁴³ At Rome, Robert Persons was concerned that his students were receiving excessive attention from ladies, who would come to hear the students' music in services; at Douai, the college authorities do not seem to have had any regard for public opinion. The situation at Valladolid seems to have been altogether different. At St. Alban's, a rich musical culture appears to have been one of the College's chief means for engaging with the local community. It was through the use of music that the College's weekly ceremonies in honor of La

⁴⁰ Aguirre Rincón S., "The Formation of an Exceptional Library: Early Printed Music Books at Valladolid Cathedral", *Early Music* 37, 3 (2009) 379–399.

⁴¹ See Cichy A., "Out of Place? The Functions of Music in English Seminaries during the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries", in Burn D. (ed.), *Music and Theology in the European Reformations* (Leuven: forthcoming).

⁴² Dixon G., "Music in the Venerable English College in Rome in the Early Baroque", in Antolini B.M. – Morelli A. – Spagnuolo V.V. (eds.), *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 4–7 giugno 1992* (Lucca: 1994) 469–478.

⁴³ Cichy A., "Lost and Found: Hugh Facy", *Early Music* 42, 1 (2014) 95–104.

Vulnerata were endowed with solemnity, and students were able to demonstrate their empathy with the devotional and cultural practices of the city. That this has been largely overlooked by scholars before now may be a measure of its effectiveness: in an institution preparing English priests for work and possibly martyrdom on the English Mission, an excessive reputation for musical accomplishments would have diverted public attention from the College's essential mission. The fact that so little is written in contemporary sources about music in the College's chapel suggests that it was simply one chapel among many in a city cluttered with convents, monasteries, and churches, many of which boasted their own particular shrines and relics. It had integrated into the city so well that apart from the *relaciones* cited above, there are virtually no other seventeenth-century sources that mention the College's music. The College's music was probably not remarked upon precisely because it was *unremarkable*, conforming to local expectations—simply another voice in the already crowded musical soundscape of Valladolid.

St. Alban's College represents an important point of cultural encounter and exchange between England and Spain during the early seventeenth century. It is especially significant when viewed against a backdrop of hostilities between the two powers. While both countries fought each other on the seas in the undeclared Anglo-Spanish War from 1585 to 1604, English Catholics at Valladolid fought their own war for hearts and minds. Although their reasons for demonstrating cultural affinity and integration through music cannot be reduced to a set of purely political or financial motives,⁴⁴ the usefulness of their self-representation through music to these ends must be acknowledged—along with the broader implications of this strategy. The priests ordained at St. Alban's College returned to the English Mission with a grasp of liturgy and music that was colored by their formation in Valladolid. A more complete understanding of the ways in which this unique experience, in turn, shaped the development of music among Catholic communities in England, awaits the results of further investigation.

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⁴⁴ On the use of music at the College in reframing the students' perceptions of martyrdom, for instance, see Cichy, "Music, Meditation, and Martyrdom".

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'Mit singen und klingen': Urban Processional Culture and the Soundscapes of Post-Reformation Germany

Alexander J. Fisher

In 1586, the lay Confraternity of the Holy Trinity at the Cathedral of Augsburg, citing some fifteen years of pious activity in this confessionally divided city, applied to Pope Sixtus v for indulgences. While the Trinity was the nominal focus of devotion for this group, it was more popularly known as the Confraternity of the Holy Mountain of Andechs (Bruderschaft zum Heiligen Berg Andechs), reflecting its regular processions to the nearby shrine that housed an impressive collection of relics and miraculous wafers. In its supplication, the group singled out its processions for the impression they left on Augsburg's Protestant majority:

[...] durch diese Lobwurdige Bruederschafft allhie zu Augspurg, vnd auff dem Lanndt, vil anndacht vnnnd gotteßdiennst verricht[et] word[en] vnnd noch verrichtet werde, allso dz die fromme Catholischen Eÿfferigen Christen mit öffentlichen Creutzfanen zu allen thoren auß vnnd ein in der *procession* wandlen, vnnd ettliche Chör angerichtt, in der Lannge vnnd grosse Zal Teuttsch vnnd Latteinsch *Litanias de omnib[us] sanctis* gesung[en], vnnd von vilen lauffendt[en] Neüglaubigen ain auff vnd zu sehen gehabtt, auch gleichsam entsetz[en], seinndt sie d[a] gestanndten, mit erschrockhen hertz[en] vnnd vil vnder denselben dem Gaëstlichen personen *reuerentz* ertzaÿg[en].¹

Here in Augsburg, and in the countryside, this praiseworthy brotherhood has carried out many devotions and divine services (and still does); thus pious, Catholic, and ardent Christians have held public processions with banners into and out of all of the [city] gates, and organized several

¹ "Concept der Bruderschafft zum Hej: Berg Andex Suplication an die Bäbst: hey: zu Rom vmb zuerlanngen ettliche Indulgentias Anno Christi 1586", Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Katholisches Wesensarchiv E45⁸. See my discussion in Fisher A.J., *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: 2004) 242–243.

choirs in great numbers that sang German and Latin Litanies of All Saints, and many Protestants walking by saw this and stood there with terrified hearts, and many of them showed reverence to the clergy.

By passing through the various gates of the city, the Trinity Confraternity laid claim to the space defined by its walls, not only with the militaristic visual symbolism of banners, but also with the aural medium of litanies, thus projecting the dogma of sanctoral intercession that was a firm plank in post-Tridentine theology. Two years later the Austrian Jesuit preacher Georg Scherer (1540–1605) echoed these sentiments in a Viennese sermon on the feast of Corpus Christi and its processions, published simultaneously at both Vienna and Ingolstadt:

DJß Fest neben der zugehörige[n] Procession mit den fliegenden Fahnen aller Handwercker Zünfften/ mit den schönen Kräntzen vnd Püschlein/ grünen Bäumen/ mit Graß vnnd Rosen streuen/ mit wolschmeckenden Kräutern/ mit Trommen vnd Heerpaucken/ mit Trommeten vnd Posaunen/ mit dem Gesang vnnd Glockenklang/ mit den Frewdschüssen/ mit dem Schall vnnd Jubel aller Völcker/ mit der Zierd vnnd Schmuck der Priesterschafft vnnd dergleichen Ceremonien/ so nach eines jeden Orts Gelegenheit fürgenommen vnnd gebraucht werden/ ist ein öffentlicher Triumph wider die Sacramentstürmer vnd Verlaugner der wahren Gegenwart deß Leibs vnnd Bluts Christi.²

This feast and its accompanying procession with the flying banners of the guilds, with the fine laurels, wreaths, and greenery, with the scattering of grass and roses, with tasty herbs, with drums and timpani, with trumpets and trombones, with singing and bell-ringing, with salvos of joy, with the sound and rejoicing of all peoples, with the ornament and finery of the clergy, and other such ceremonies, undertaken and used according to the circumstances of each place, is a public triumph against the enemies of the Sacrament and the betrayers of the true Presence of the body and blood of Christ.

² Scherer Georg, *Ein Predig vom Fronleichnamsfest vnd Vmbgang. Geschehen zu Wien in Österreich, durch Georgium Scherer Societatis IESV, am Tag der H. Dreyfaltigkeit* (Ingolstadt, David Sartorius: 1588) 15. The sermon also appeared at Vienna under the title *Ein Predig vom Gottsleichnambs Fest und umbgang* (Vienna, L. Nassinger: 1588). I gratefully acknowledge here the insights of Daniele Filippi, who is currently preparing a detailed study on early modern Catholic soundscapes that includes discussion of Scherer's sermon.

Although one cannot attribute polemical sentiments such as these to all participants in Catholic processions, they point to the ways in which they had the power to redefine sacred space by deploying visual, aural, and even olfactory media.

Processional culture had a lengthy history expressed both in the liturgical observances of St. Mark and Rogationtide, and in popular traditions of supplicatory processions, the 'beating of the bounds' of a Christian polity.³ Processions had always traced the boundaries of parishes and communities, but they increasingly defined boundaries of faith separating the major confessions north of the Alps in the sixteenth century and beyond. Repudiating the Protestant critique of the immanence of place, Catholics marched to regional pilgrimage shrines, tracing the networks and nodes of a sacral geography. But it was in the cities, above all, that they ran up against more evident confessional boundaries. Their processions appropriated and redefined urban space, projecting the confessional symbolism of the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary, and the saints to audiences that ranged from the sympathetic, to the indifferent, to the outwardly hostile.⁴ Sound was a critical and understudied aspect of this projection. While the visual media of processions—banners, vestments, monstrances, and so forth—directly impacted viewers along direct sightlines, the sounds of chant, litanies, polyphony, bells, military music, and exploding gunpowder dramatically expanded their effects. Even if ephemeral, sound was enveloping, penetrating, and embodied. To cite Barry Truax, it was a powerful vehicle for acoustic communication, the transmission of messages meant to reinforce Catholic identities and to persuade or intimidate confessional opponents.⁵

3 On the notion of 'beating the bounds' in the pre-modern English context, for example, see Smith B.R., *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: 1999) 31–32.

4 The negotiation of space was naturally a fundamental challenge in early modern cities divided by faith. For a sensitive study of space and confessional tension in Augsburg and Donauwörth, which will be discussed below with respect to sound and processional culture, see Dixon C.S., "Urban Order and Religious Coexistence in the German Imperial City: Augsburg and Donauwörth, 1548–1608", *Central European History* 40 (2007) 1–33, and, more broadly, the essays in idem – Freist D. – Greengrass M. (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: 2009).

5 Truax B., *Acoustic Communication*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT – London: 2001).

Processional Soundscapes in Post-Reformation Germany

It may be best to begin with some reflections on processional culture in the Bavarian capital and Catholic bastion of Munich, setting the tone for such spectacles throughout the region.⁶ By the later sixteenth century the tempo of processions increased dramatically, stoked both by the ruling Wittelsbach dynasty and by the lay confraternities that processed within the city and undertook pilgrimages to regional shrines. The most spectacular of these processions was surely that of Corpus Christi, the annual celebration of the transubstantiated body of Christ that became a potent symbol of the Catholic cause in Germany and beyond.⁷ Involving many thousands of participants, these were hardly spontaneous affairs; they required careful planning and lavish subsidy by the Wittelsbach dukes, who provided not only the costumes and accessories for the guildsmen's portrayal of Biblical scenes—extending in scriptural order from the Creation to the Apocalypse—but also musical resources in the form of the court cantorate, instrumentalists, and trumpet corps. Groups of musicians regularly punctuated the parade: trumpeters in the ceremonial vanguard of officials and soldiers, singers and instrumentalists sprinkled throughout the lengthy succession of Biblical scenes, students singing litany-like praises for an enthroned figure of the Virgin Mary in the clouds, and finally, in the vicinity of the Eucharistic monstrance, the ducal trumpet corps, cantorate, and instrumentalists, led in the late sixteenth century by the famed chapelmastor Orlando di Lasso. Indeed it was the performance of Lasso's motet *Gustate et videte quam suavis sit Dominus* ('Taste, and see how sweet is the Lord') that is said to have dispelled poor weather during the 1584 procession and that was repeated regularly in later years.⁸ But most striking, perhaps, was the explicitly militaristic soundscape created at each of the four main city gates, where the procession paused for the recitation of the Gospels. At these places trumpets blared, drums were beaten, and hundreds of musketeers and soldiers fired

⁶ For more detailed discussion of sound and processional culture in Munich, see Fisher A.J., *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: 2014) 245–275.

⁷ The history of the Munich Corpus Christi procession is discussed at length in Mitterwieser A., *Geschichte der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern* (Munich: 1930).

⁸ The effect of *Gustate et videte* was reported in the manuscript chronicle of court official Ludwig Müller, preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (hereafter BSB), Cgm 1967, fol. 112v. For discussion see Mitterwieser, *Geschichte der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern* 42–43; Leuchtmann H., *Orlando di Lasso*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: 1976–1977) 1, 56 and 199; and Stahleder H., *Belastungen und Bedrückungen: Die Jahre 1506–1705*, Chronik der Stadt München 2 (Ebenhausen: 2005) 191.

their weapons and discharged cannons.⁹ As the gates were located at the four main axes of the city, north and south, east and west, the noise would have been channeled toward the center, expanding the procession's acoustic horizon to embrace the entire city and making its impression inescapable.

Military sounds were extended as well to processions for the translations of sanctoral relics, objects whose investment with sacred power also made them a flashpoint in confessional debates. A notable episode in Munich occurred in 1663, when the Franciscan tertiary nuns of the Pütrich house finally succeeded in their long quest to obtain the relics of the third-century martyress St. Dorothea for their convent church.¹⁰ Their male Franciscan superiors, who had been instrumental in the convent's full enclosure in the early 1620s, approved the translation on the condition that these cloistered women would not appear publicly in the procession. Led by male Franciscans and the electoral court, the procession departed the Franciscan church to the sound of the electoral trumpets and drums. Underway the friars sang the Vespers hymn from the Common of Holy Women, *Fortem virili pectore* ('Let us praise the virile woman of strong breast, who everywhere radiates the glory of sanctity'). As they entered the convent church with the relics, the monks sang the *Veni sponsa Christi*, the traditional antiphon for the investiture of new nuns; their performance was continued by the electoral court musicians 'under the din of trumpets and drums' ('vnter Trompeten- vnd Paucken: Schaal'). As the reliquary was placed on the altar, the musicians performed the Office of Vespers and the festal hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, as the Pütrich nuns observed silently from their enclosed choir. The new caretakers for these precious objects, the Pütrich nuns could only watch and listen as this sanctoral translation was clothed in the sounds of military triumph, orchestrated by the court and male clergy. These sounds did not simply express the adoration of the holy object, but rather projected it as a victory against the enemies of the true Church, confounding the boundaries between state power and religious devotion.

⁹ For a contemporary account see, for example, Ludwig Müller's chronicle, BSB, Cgm 1967, fols. 340ff.

¹⁰ The following account is drawn from the early eighteenth-century chronicle of the Pütrich convent, *Bittrich Voll Deß Himmlischen Manna. Süßen Morgen-Thau. Das ist: Historischer Discurs, Von Dem Ursprung, Fundation, Auffnamb, glücklichen Fortgang, Tugend-Wandel, vnd andern denckwürdigen Sachen Deß Löbl. Frauen-Closters, Ordens der dritten Regul deß Heil. Francisci, Bey Sanct Christopheren im Bittrich genannt, In der Chur-Fürstlichen Residentz-Stadt München* (Munich, Johann Lucas Straub: 1721) 141–143. See also Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda* 273–274, and Ulrike Strasser's more extensive discussion of the translation of St. Dorothea in her *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor, MI: 2004) 136–148.

Munich, of course, was the capital of a nominally Catholic territory, but a glimpse into the broader confessional geography of southern Germany suggests that Catholic processions were wielded as propagandistic tools. This is quite clear, for example, in the Upper Palatinate, a formerly Lutheran and Calvinist principality that was awarded to Bavaria after the Catholic victory at White Mountain in November 1620. In the decade to follow, Maximilian I of Bavaria, now enjoying the electoral title that had been stripped from the 'Winter King' Friedrich V of the Palatinate, dispatched Jesuit priests to the capital of Amberg and other Upper Palatine towns to begin a process of recatholicization.¹¹ Among the various liturgical and devotional practices designed to win Protestants back to the Catholic faith, processions were key for the outward demonstration of Catholicism and the reshaping of confessional space. In Amberg Corpus Christi processions began in 1625, having previously been avoided by the Bavarian authorities due to the risk of 'agitating their subjects' ('commotio der Untertanen'); however, within a few years the processions of the new Marian congregations at Amberg were successful enough that these groups soon began to march into the neighboring Protestant territory of Sulzbach.¹² At Neumarkt, where the new Corpus Christi procession in 1626 was attended by great numbers of town- and country-folk as well as the soldiery, we read that 'the accompanying singing was so overwhelming' that it was comparable to King David's festal procession into the Temple under the sound of psalms.¹³ And at Tirschenreuth, Jesuit chroniclers reported that in one year some 6,000 participants (!) marched in the Corpus Christi procession: we read that the celebrations were heightened by 'soldiers firing their weapons, and by the ringing of trumpets'. In subsequent years the pomp would be augmented by 'five choirs of singers, and twenty banners, with a surrounding cohort of armed men'.¹⁴ As in Munich, the Corpus Christi processions in the

¹¹ For a recent study see Johnson T., *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles: The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Farnham – Burlington, VT: 2009).

¹² Herzig A., *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben: Rekatholisierung vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: 2000) 110–11. On the arrival of an Amberg procession at Sulzbach in May 1630, see Rank A., *Sulzbach im Zeichen der Gegenreformation (1627–1649): Verlauf und Fazit einer beschwerlichen Jesuitenmission* (Amberg: 2003) 206–207.

¹³ Gegenfurtner W., 'Jesuiten in der Oberpfalz: Ihr Wirken und Beitrag zur Rekatholisierung in den oberpfälzischen Landen (1621–1650)', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 11 (1977) 71–220, at 137–138.

¹⁴ 'Theophoriae verò intra mœnia pompam solennem millia hominum facile sex prosequebatur; opificum tribubus eo dispositis ordine, quem inde à prisco ævo Catholico extantes tabulæ designabant: militaribus ad hæc plausibus datis missili flammâ, tubarūmque clangore. Ejusdem festi recurrentis pompæ alteri quinque choros cantorum, & ve-

Upper Palatinate combined music with overtly militaristic sounds, but in the confessionally mixed environment of the latter territory they surely were more provocative.

Elsewhere in the complex confessional geography of the southern German orbit, these processions faced stiffer resistance. We have already noted the confrontational methods of the Trinity Confraternity in Augsburg in the 1580s, but these tensions would come to a head around 1600, when Augsburg's Catholics began to expand their processions into the neighborhoods occupied by the city's Protestant majority. At first the Catholic party used the occasion of imperial military victories in the Turkish wars as a pretext for this activity;¹⁵ having been successful, they were soon emboldened to march throughout the city on Good Friday and the feast of Corpus Christi. Although the Corpus Christi procession in Augsburg could not command the vast numbers seen in nearby Munich, a Jesuit chronicle tells us that the 1606 procession involved over 2,700 participants, including an angelic chorus of boys, the city trumpeters, an additional company of over sixteen trumpets and drums accompanying the procession, and numerous groups of musicians, including over three dozen singers from the cathedral. The noise was such that a Protestant chronicler, Georg Kölderer, lamented that his co-religionists had to stand by and listen to trumpets and drums 'as used in warfare' ('alls wie man inn krieg pflegt zue thuen').¹⁶ The Good Friday procession seems to have caused even greater consternation among Protestant observers. Possibly having its origins in the Lenten devotional exercises of the Jesuits, these evening, torchlit processions began to emerge in towns with Jesuit colleges, establishing themselves as a fixture in the southern German orbit by around 1600. In Augsburg, the newly-founded Corpus Christi Confraternity began to route their Good Friday processions through Protestant neighborhoods in 1604. Various manuscript and printed chronicles indicate live representations of Christ's Passion, groups of devotees whipping their bloody backs with scourges, and several groups of musicians, including 'a chorus of four boys singing a tearful dirge to Christ'

xilla viginti, cum armatorum stipantium cohorte, addidére'. Kropf Franciscus Xaverius, *Historia Provinciae Societatis Jesu Germaniae Superioris. Pars IV: Ab anno 1611 ad annum 1630* (Munich, Johann Jakob Vötter: 1740) 418–419.

¹⁵ In 1598, for instance, a Catholic procession was routed throughout the entire city to commemorate the Christian victory over the Turks at Raab (Győr) in Hungary. See Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity* 241.

¹⁶ Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg (hereafter StStBA), 2° Cod. S. 44, fol. 51r, quoted in Roeck B., *Eine Stadt im Krieg und Frieden: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg zwischen Kalenderstreit und Parität*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: 1989) I, 184–185.

(‘chorus quaternorum puerorum triste epicedium Christo flentium’), ‘a mournful symphony’ (‘Sýmphonía mœsta’), and ‘a doleful funeral song sung by a choir of angels’ (‘næniam rursus angelorum chorus lugubrem meditabatur’).¹⁷ The spectacle immediately touched off a polemical debate in print extending over several years, beginning with an anonymous Jesuit tract from Ingolstadt that claimed that ‘not only the hearts of Catholics, but also those of Christians deceived in religion, were moved and softened, so that [their hearts] must have burst at the same time from inner sighs and hot tears’ (‘dardurch nicht allein Catholische/ sondern manche im Glauben verführte Christen Hertzen/ dermassen syndt bewegt vnnd erweicht worden/ daß sie durch jnnerliche Seufftzen/ vnd heisse Träher/ gleichsam außbrechen müssen’).¹⁸ Enraged that his own Lutheran flock had been observing this idolatrous spectacle, the Lutheran superintendent, Melchior Volcius, preached two fiery sermons on Good Friday in 1607 which soon appeared from a Tübingen press. Condemning the grisly sight of marching flagellants, Volcius admonished his congregants to avoid this idolatrous spectacle:

¹⁷ “De initijs ac progressu omnium Fraternitatum, quæ in alma hac vrbe Augustana fuerunt diversis temporibus erectæ à Christi fidelibus, narratio MDCXVII”, StStBA, 2^o Aug. 346, fols. 22r–22v. The earliest known account of this musical complement appears in Gretser Jakob, S.J., *De sacris et religiosis peregrinationibus libri quatuor. Eiusdem de Catholicae Ecclesiae processionibus seu supplicationibus libri duo. Quibus adiuncti: de voluntaria flagellorum cruce, seu de disciplinarum usu libri tres* (Ingolstadt, Adam Sartorius: 1606) 111–113. Gretser quotes from an unnamed source ‘who saw [the procession] and took part in it’ (‘Utar autem in hac relatione non meis verbis, sed eius, qui vidit & interfuit’: 111). Gretser gives 1605 as the year in which this particular procession took place, but sources connected to the newly-founded Corpus Christi Confraternity in Augsburg indicate that the Good Friday procession was instituted the previous year: see the *Gratulation An die andächtige deß Heiligen Fronleichnams JEsu CHristi, vnd andere Briderschafften zu Augspurg* (Ingolstadt, In der Ederischen Truckerey, durch Andream Angermayr: 1604) 3–4. The procession is described in at least four other manuscripts, which variously give dates of 1604 and 1605: the “Kurtze beschreibung, wie die andächtige bruederschafft des allerheiligsten Fronleichnams Jesu Christi, in der Statt Augspurg [...] 1604, zu der Ehr Gottes wider vgericht [...], Archiv des Bistums Augsburg, BO 2480, no. 2; the “Historia Collegii Augustani”, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire de Fribourg, L. 95, 1, fols. 424–426; the “Domkapitelsche Chronologie”, Archiv des Bistums Augsburg, BO 7257; and the “Historia episcoporum Augustanorum usque ad annum 1611”, Archiv des Bistums Augsburg, Hs 64, fols. 209r–209v. Another description may be found in Tympe Matthaeus, *Vierdter Theil dieses Predigbuchs, Spiegel der Eheleuth* (Münster, Lambert Raßfeldt: 1615) 80–81, who cites Gretser as a source.

¹⁸ *Gratulation An die andächtige deß Heiligen Fronleichnams JEsu CHristi* 3–4.

Was thun sie? Sie verbieten jhren Leuthen vnser Kirchen/ vnsere Predigen zuhören/ vnserm Gottesdienst beyzuwohnen/ darinn sie doch nichts hören/ dann Gottes reines vngeschöntes Wort/ sampt reinen Psalmen vnnd Geistlichen Liedern: Nichts sehen/ dann die heylige Sacramenten/ wie sie von Christo selbs eingesetzt/ vnnd gegeben worden. Vnd du lauffest diesem jhrem Gottslösterlichen/ abschewlichen Werck bey Nacht vnnd Nebel nach/ da du nichts sihest/ dann lauter Grewel vnnd Abgötterey: Nichts hörest/ dardurch du doch köndest gebessert werden.

And what do [these Catholics] do? They forbid their people to visit our church, hear our sermons, and attend our services, in which they would hear nothing but God's pure, unsullied word, along with pure psalms and sacred songs; they would see nothing but the holy Sacrament as it was given to us by Christ himself. But you run to this blasphemous, abominable event in night and fog, where you see nothing but sheer atrociousness and idolatry; you hear nothing by which you can better yourself.¹⁹

The Ingolstadt Jesuit Conrad Vetter responded by mocking Volcius in his *Flagellant's Zeal* in 1608, jubilantly pointing out the procession's effect on Lutheran onlookers and speculating that the Lutheran pastor would approve of it if only it were held in the light of day. Referring to a different procession on the feast of the Ascension, Vetter claimed that

Ist auch kein zweiffel bei mir/ das Hertz im Leib hupff ihme/ wen er so vil *Choros Musicorum* hört singen vnd ihme das Herrliche geleut/ vnnd so schöne Glocken bey S. Vlrich in den Ohren erklingen/ vnd mit Augen sihet/ wie die gantze Proceßion S. Vlrichs Kirchen zugeht.

I also have no doubt that his own heart would leap in his breast if he heard the singing of so many choirs of musicians, and the magnificent ringing of the great bell of St. Ulrich in his ears, and saw the whole procession pass by St. Ulrich's church before his own eyes.²⁰

¹⁹ Volcius Melchior, *Zwo Christliche Predigten, von der abscheulichen Geisselungsprocession, welche jährlich im Papsthumb am Charfreytag gehalten würdt* (Tübingen, in der Cellischen Truckerey: 1607) 52.

²⁰ Andreeae [Vetter] Conrad, *M. Conradi Andreea &c. Volcius Flagellifer. Das ist: Beschützung vnd Handhabung fürtrefflicher vnd herlicher zweyer Predigten von der vnleydenlichen vnd Abschewlichen Geysel Proceßion, erstlich gehalten, hernach auch in Truck gegeben durch den Kehrwürdigen, vnnd Wölgekerten Herrn M. Melchior Voltz Lutherischen Predicanten*

This ongoing published debate over the Good Friday procession and penitential processions more generally²¹ also engaged with one of the most characteristic sounds of Catholic processional culture, the recitation and/or singing of litanies. Vetter, for example, appended a satirical 'litany' mocking the Lutheran position in his *Flagellant's Procession, Held by Lutherans Not Only on Good Friday, but throughout the Year* (1608), yet another riposte to Volcius's sermons.²² Immediately Vetter was countered by the prominent Lutheran theologian Matthäus Hoë von Höenegg in his *Procession and True Litany, Instituted and Sung with Great Devotion in the Roman Papacy by Monks, Jesuits, and other Papists* (1608).²³ While Vetter imagined his Lutheran antagonists entreating God to spare them from even the slightest bodily discipline or penance, Höenegg's 'Papists' prayed to keep their concubines, indulgences, and that the Antichristian, Roman Church retain its authority in all matters of religion. These polemics aside, the exchange reveals an identification of processional culture with the litany, a genre of prayer and music whose repetitive rhythm of invocations to divine persons (e.g., Mary, the saints, or the Name of Jesus) and collective responses (e.g., 'ora pro nobis' or 'pray for us') embodied a specifically Catholic dogma of sanctoral intercession. More broadly, the debate between Volcius, Vetter, and their colleagues and antagonists laid bare some of the provocative effects of Catholic processional culture in a biconfessional city like Augsburg. From an aural perspective, we find that an increasingly bold Catholic minority saturated the city on regular occasions with significant sound, ranging from bell signals to military music to polyphony, all of which extended the acoustic horizon of the procession to neighborhoods that otherwise would have been spared the direct sight of these spectacles.

zu Augspurg bey Sant Anna (Ingolstadt, In der Ederischen Truckerey, durch Andream Angermayer: 1608) 12.

- ²¹ The full extent of this debate cannot be recounted here, but the main protagonists included Jakob Gretser and Conrad Vetter on the Catholic side, and Jakob Heilbrunner, Georg Zeemann, and Matthias Hoë von Höenegg on the Protestant side. Some brief discussion may be found in Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, Companion Website, Extended Reference 3.60, [http://global.oup.com/us/companion.websites/9780199764648/pdf/extended_references.pdf](http://global.oup.com/us/companion.websites/fdscontent/uscompanion/us/static/companion.websites/9780199764648/pdf/extended_references.pdf).
- ²² Andreeae [Vetter] Conrad, *Geißlung Procession welche im Lutherthumb nicht allein am Charfreitag, sonder das gantz Jar hinumb gehalten wirdt: Mit sampt einer andechtigen Letaney* (Ingolstadt, In der Ederischen Truckerey, durch Andream Angermayer: 1608).
- ²³ Hoë von Höenegg Matthäus, *Procession vnnd eigentliche Litaney, die im Römischen Bapsthumb von den Mönchen, Esawiten vnd andern Pfaffen mit grosser Andacht gehalten vnd gesungen wird* (Leipzig: 1608).

As in the case of Augsburg, the Lutheran majority of the imperial city of Regensburg to the northeast also faced an increasingly bold Catholic minority, but they had also to reckon with the power and influence of the Bavarian dukes, whose territory completely enveloped their urban enclave. In 1586 Duke Wilhelm V dispatched the first Jesuits to Regensburg, where they began an active missionary campaign that triggered a hostile reaction from locals who openly mocked the priests and sang inflammatory songs, not the least of which was *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*—‘Lord, preserve us in Your Word, and spare us from the fury of the Pope and the Turk’.²⁴ Already in that year of 1586 there were tense debates about the possibility of reviving Corpus Christi processions throughout the city.²⁵ While the Catholics insisted that such processions were little more than a revival of a formerly common practice, the city council pointed to its potential to provoke religious tensions. We know that a Corpus Christi procession went at least through delimited areas by 1607, the year that an episcopal ordinance confirms the presence of students performing music, professional musicians, trumpets and military drummers, boy ‘angels’ bearing cymbals, and a singing-leader (*Vorsänger*) to lead both male and female laity in singing vernacular songs or litanies.²⁶ By 1618, however, Bishop Albrecht von Töring insisted on routing the procession through the entire city, causing the city council to draw chains across the street, thus forcing the marchers to climb over or crawl underneath them, while provoking the mocking laughter of the citizenry.²⁷

The potential for religious violence had recently been made plain in the case of Donauwörth, another imperial city with a Lutheran majority about one hundred and fifty kilometers upriver. By 1606 the Catholic minority, led by the Benedictines of the Holy Cross monastery, had begun to extend their processions throughout the city with flying banners and the singing of litanies. Defying the city council, abbot Christoph Gerung dispatched, at 6:00 a.m. on the 25th of April 1606, the St. Mark’s Day procession that then headed through

²⁴ Already in July 1586 the Jesuits complained to the Regensburg city council of fiery sermons directed against them, as well as all manner of public mockery, including children singing ‘the rebellious and hateful song *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort, und stürzt des Bapsts und Türcken mordt*’. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, KLReg, St. Paul 2.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv Regensburg, OA-Gen 1991, fols. 25r–26r.

²⁷ See Trapp E., “Das evangelische Regensburg”, in Schmid P. (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Regensburg*, 2 vols. (Regensburg: 2000) II, 845–862, at 853–854. On the controversy in Regensburg concerning processions generally, see Dollinger R., *Das Evangelium in Regensburg: eine evangelische Kirchengeschichte* (Regensburg: 1959) 249–250.

the main axis of the city toward the Danube gate. Catholic and Lutheran reports differ on the soundscape created by this procession: one account from the Catholic notary Johann Schrall, engaged by the abbot to observe and record the proceedings, tells us that the procession went ‘very quietly and with appropriate devotion’, while the Protestant onlookers met the procession with ‘running back and forth, screaming, mockery, and laughter’.²⁸ A later chronicler of the Holy Cross monastery, Cölestin Königsdorfer, conceded that among the Catholics were ‘a group of young musicians clad in linen’, but insisted that they went with great modesty through the city, being targeted with taunts and insults from Protestant onlookers.²⁹ By contrast, a lengthy, Protestant pamphlet (unsigned, though attributed to the prominent Württemberg jurist Sebastian Faber) first published in 1611 claimed that the marchers were themselves ‘mocking and derisive’ (*‘hohnlachend und spöttisch’*) and that there was much ‘triumphalism’ and ‘merrymaking’ (*‘viel Triumphirens und Frolockens’*) in the faces of the onlookers.³⁰ Whatever the truth of these claims, the procession was allowed to depart the city, heading to the nearby village of Auchsesheim for a Mass and a sermon. The trouble began when the procession returned, where the marchers found the gates of the city closed against them and manned by companies of armed men and large unruly crowds. To be brief, a riot broke

²⁸ [...] und also die völlig procession ganz still und mit gebürender andacht die statt und gerade fassen hinab dem Donautor zugangen. Und obwol unterdessen von ebenfalls jung und alten manns und weibspersonen und sonderlich von dem gemainen gesind und pöfel inn bemeldter statt Wört an solchem hinabgehñ uf der gassen und aus den häusern ain groß hin und wider und nebenher lauffen, geschray, gespött und gelächgter gewesen, so hatt sich doch dessen die procession im wenigsten nichts angenommen, noch sich jemand an seiner andacht hiedurch verhindern lassen, sondern fein still und rueig allgemach fortgangen’. Quoted in Steichele A., *Die Landkapitel: Dilingen, Dinkelsbühel, Donauwörth*, Das Bisthum Augsburg historisch und statistisch beschrieben 3 (Augsburg: 1872) 737.

²⁹ ‘die Schaar junger Musiker in Linnen gekleidet’. From Königsdorfer Cölestin, *Geschichte des Klosters zum Heil. Kreuz in Donauwörth* [...] Zweiter Band. Vom Jahre 1518 bis 1648 (Donauwörth: 1825) 271.

³⁰ ‘Als verordnet er [i.e., the abbot] seine Chorbrüder, vnnd ettliche Kaifshaimische vnnd Fuggerische Diener, welche neben wenig Burgern und Weibspersonen einen als den andern weg mit fliegenden Fahnen den Markt-Platz hinab hohnlachend vnd spöttisch ins Teutsche Hauß, von dannen folgends gar zum Thor hinauß gangen: da sie dann auch viel Triumphirens und Frolockens in Angesicht der Burger getrieben’. Faber Sebastian, *Beständige Informatio facti et Juris, wie es mit den am Keiserlichen Hof wider des H. Römischen Reichs Statt Donawehrt aussgangenen Processen vnd darauff vorgenommener Execution aigentlich vnd im Grund der Warheit beschaffen seye* (s.l.: 1611) 56.

out during which the Protestant residents of the city attacked the procession, throwing down its banners, casting sticks and stones, and verbally abusing the marchers; this was a soundscape defined less by pious litanies and songs than by noise and tumult.

Even after the violence subsided, sound continued to play a role in the public discourse surrounding the procession. In September 1606 Bavarian commissioners dispatched to Donauwörth on the emperor's behalf interrogated four men suspected of owning and distributing written copies of a 'scandalous pasquill or song about the procession' ('schandliches Paßquil oder Liedt des Creützgangs').³¹ It may be significant that at least three of them—a German schoolmaster, a watchman on a city tower, and a common musician—likely had some musical training and would have been in a position to sing the words to whatever tune might have been specified.³² Although the song itself no longer seems to survive, we know that three of the four men admitted to possessing it and sharing it with others; two of them actually wrote new copies of it to share and/or sell. One surmises that the song must have attacked the Catholic party in Donauwörth, the Bavarian occupiers, the emperor, or all three, for the gravity of the situation was such that the three men who had confessed in September soon fled the city entirely. Their names appear along with those of twelve other 'destroyers of the land and rebels' ('Landzwinger und Meutmacher') in a Bavarian decree of 12 November 1606, which ordered that all of their assets were immediately to be confiscated; presumably they would never be permitted to return.³³ In sum, the documentary evidence from the uproar of March 1606 and its aftermath suggests that sound had a significant role to play in Donauwörth's confessional conflict, one that led to the city's

³¹ Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 316, 10r–18v.

³² The four men are identified as Hans Deuring [Düring], 'Thurmer'; Andreas Schleicher, 'Teütscher Schuelmaister'; Christoph Haldner, 'Spilman'; and Caspar Krenzlin, identified only as a burgher. Songs like this 'Paßquil', if circulated in written form, normally omitted musical notation, simply identifying a well-known tune to which the words could be sung. On the role of this process of contrafacture in Protestantism, see, for example, Braun W., "Die evangelische Kontrafaktur", *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 11 (1966) 89–113; and Oettinger R.W., *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: 2001), esp. 99–104.

³³ The three fugitives were Düring, Schleicher, and Krenzlin; the fourth man interrogated, Christoph Haldner, firmly denied any knowledge of the song in his hearing and may have escaped punishment. A transcription of the November decree appears in Sartori Joseph von, *Geschichte der Stadt Donauwörth, aus Reichs- und Craifshandlungen, dann tüchtigen Urkunden* (Frankfurt am Main: 1779) 60–61.

official contempt by the empire, its forcible occupation by Bavarian troops, and the stripping of its free imperial status.

These are but a few episodes drawn from a relatively narrow geographical area, and there remains much to be done by expanding the inquiry's geographical range to other regions of the empire. However, some common threads and broader themes are already evident. First is the distinctive role that sound played, in comparison with sight, in processional culture. Sound and music were naturally ephemeral, but enveloping and penetrating in ways that a procession's visual media were not. Especially when augmented by bells, gunfire, and military music, the acoustic horizon of processional sound far outstripped the space defined by the procession's visual reach alone. This could be of great consequence in cities of mixed confession like Augsburg, Regensburg, and Donauwörth, where Catholic processions transgressed boundaries of faith and ritual. Second, it is well to remember that the medieval and early modern understanding of the senses stressed a physical and intimate connection between the object and its perceiver. Edward Muir has written of the embodied nature of seeing processions, in which the eye received directly the irradiated 'species' of the ritual itself; Robert Kendrick has amplified this point in the Milanese context in particular.³⁴ But sound, too, implied a physical connection between source and audience. As Bruce Smith has written in reference to sound in Elizabethan England, sound waves enveloped the body, penetrated it, and excited the animal spirits of the inner ear, in turn affecting the motions of the soul. Processions were not a matter of disengaged perception but intimate affairs that affected the body and mind in direct and profound ways.³⁵ Finally, this material encourages further exploration of the relationship of sound to the creation of confessional space. In contrast with a notion of neutral, Cartesian space being 'filled', as it were, with visual, aural, and other media, it is useful to turn to a phenomenological sense of space, following on the work of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, in which sights and sounds construct its very experience.³⁶ Processions and their sounds are especially fascinating from this perspective, since they not simply appropriate space, but transform its very

³⁴ See Muir E., "The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance", in Howe N. (ed.), *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: 2007) 129–153; and Kendrick R.L., *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (Oxford – New York: 2002) 145.

³⁵ Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* 101–106.

³⁶ See Lefebvre H., *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford – Cambridge, MA: 1991); and Certeau M. de, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. S. Rendall (Berkeley – Los Angeles: 1984).

nature. Challenging the notion of a nominally 'Catholic' or 'Lutheran' urban space, processional sound produced confessional spaces that were mobile, difficult to localize, and enveloping.

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in Truck gegeben durch den Kehrwürdigen, vnnd Wolgekerten Herrn M. Melchior Voltz Lutherischen Predicanten zu Augspurg bey Sant Anna (Ingolstadt, In der Ederischen Truckerey, durch Andream Angermayer: 1608).

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‘Colpe mie venite a piangere’: The Penitential Cantata in Baroque Rome

Margaret Murata

All the while Lent continues there is sermons [...] and Musicke in some Church or other in the Afternoone, which makes most of the Italians so devout that those churches are seildom empty of People all the day long.

FRANCIS MORTOFT (Rome, 2 March 1659)¹

••

The opera season in Rome ended with Ash Wednesday, when Romans and visitors to the city alike were encouraged to turn their thoughts and lives to more spiritual matters. Biblical stories and moral allegories set to music could be presented in public oratories, and music often accompanied the continuous public devotions in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament known as the Quarantore. One Dutch visitor in 1654 noted that at the oratory of the SS. Crocifisso at the church of S. Marcello, there were ‘always among the listeners at least a dozen cardinals and a good part of the foreign and Roman nobility’.² Other kinds of devotional services also offered spiritual music outside of Lent. Harpist and composer Orazio Michi provided music for Marian devotions at S. Lorenzo in Damaso from 1620 to 1623, organizing musicians and accompanying the litanies and *laude* in a side chapel on Saturdays.³ Private performances of chamber music, whether secular or spiritual, are far less documented, so one must imagine to whom the devotional poems and music could be addressed and how many persons might be listening to a performance at any given time.

¹ *Francis Mortoft: His Book, being his travels through France and Italy, 1658–1659*, ed. M. Letts (London: 1925; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: 1967) 144.

² Aerssen van Sommelsdyck François van, *Le Voyage d’Italie*, ed. in Pélissier L.G., “Sur quelques documents utiles pour l’histoire des rapports entre la France et l’Italie”, in *Atti del congresso internazionale di scienze storiche (Roma, 1–9 aprile 1903)*, vol. 3 (Rome: 1906; repr. 1972 as vol. 2) 184.

³ See Morelli A., “Michi, Orazio”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 74 (Rome: 2010), online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/orazio-michi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\).](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/orazio-michi_(Dizionario-Biografico).)

Every kind of cleric and gentleman—from the pope himself, to secretaries of the Church, to the non-aristocratic *literati* who peopled Rome's various academies—penned Latin and Italian spiritual sonnets and canzonettas. Some regularly turned their hands to spiritual dialogues, whether by inspiration or on commission is usually not known. Such writers included the singer Loreto Vittori, Sistine soprano, cavalier of the Supreme Order of Christ, priest, poet, dramatist, and composer.⁴ Most of this poetry, of course, was not set to music. When it was, the composer could respect the prosodic qualities of the words or he could treat the poems as 'scripts', adding dimensions of rhetorical repetition, intonation (higher or lower in pitch), dissonance, and harmonic shifts both transient and structural. In solo songs and cantatas as well as in dialogues and oratorios, music performed on one level the declamatory roles of preachers and actors; on a less verbal level, it could serve as an emotional guide to those who would listen and hear. Musical elements are particularly effective in penitential poetry for Lenten contemplation, when listeners are urged to search their souls and seek individual worthiness.

The first two of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola focus on sin—the sins of Lucifer, Adam and Eve, and then of any person damned for a mortal sin, leading finally to a self-review of the individual's sinful past and present. These initial examinations proceed systematically and objectively. Both days end with colloquies that turn the mind toward remedies—the crucified Christ and God's mercy toward man. Following the Fifth Exercise, Loyola offers instructions that can accompany the daily exercises. These include both physical suggestions and what we might call psychological directives. For example, the exercitant may meditate 'at times kneeling, at times prostrate, [...] at other times supine, or seated or standing' and should 'not think of [such] pleasant and joyful things as heaven, the Resurrection, etc.' that might 'hinder the feeling of pain, sorrow, and tears that I should have for my sins'.⁵ (Note the instruction to avoid pleasant and joyful thoughts, which finds correspondence in the way many penitential poems and cantatas end.) The tenth and last direction, concerns penance; it is followed by four further observations. It mentions subjective emotions explicitly and has a bearing on musical and poetic expression. Interior sorrow for one's sins can be outwardly expressed through penances.

⁴ See Antolini B.M., "La carriera di cantante e compositore di Loreto Vittori", *Studi musicali* 7 (1978) 141–188, and her *Loreto Vittori musico spoletino* (Spoleto: 1984). Born in Spoleto in 1600, Vittori was appointed by Gregory xv to the Sistine Chapel choir in 1622; he was ordained a priest in 1643, and died in Rome in 1670. His *Dialoghi sacri e morali 'fatti per la musica'* were published in 1652.

⁵ Loyola Ignatius, *The Spiritual Exercises*, trans. A. Mottola, 2nd ed. (Garden City, NY: 1964), Fifth Exercise for Week 1, Additional Directions, No. 6, p. 61.

These exterior, visible forms of penance are designed [a] to atone for past sins and [b] to overcome ourselves, subordinating sensuality to higher inclinations;

[c] to seek and find some grace or gift that we wish to obtain, as for instance, a deep sorrow for our sins, or to grieve for them or for the pains and sufferings that Christ our Lord endured in His passion, or [d] for the solution of some doubt that is troubling us.⁶

I have cited the *Spiritual Exercises* not to propose any Jesuit cast to the musical works discussed here but, in the first place, simply to provide a basic historical connection between manifestations of penitence in the seventeenth century and the ‘weeping and gnashing of teeth’, as it were, given that in Catholic worship there are and were a multitude of occasions for lamentation and expressions of grief. Second, Loyola’s concise yet analytical guide helps us to distinguish the stages that a penitential frame of mind may inhabit and can shape the spiritual field within which seventeenth-century poems and their musical settings could have been heard and experienced.

It is probably safe to say that in the Seicento there were more different circumstances for lamentation and grief than there were available different kinds of musical idioms by which to project them. But no rigorously differentiated code of musical figures was really necessary, as the new musical styles that developed in Italy from the 1620s on were eminently pliable as well as effective. In Marco Marazzoli’s oratorio *Santa Caterina*,⁷ the saint fortifies her faith before she undergoes the wheel of torture with an aria retexted from a chamber cantata. ‘Deh, non più Amor, non più’ easily becomes ‘Deh, non più, Signor, non più’.

Deh, non più, Amor, non più!
Io ti chiedo mercé!
Amor, che vuoi da me?
Già sono in servitù.
Or dal crine, o dagli occhi,

Santa Caterina:
Deh non più, Signor, non più!
La pietà regni in te!
Signor, che vuoi da me?
Già moro per Gesù.
Con tormenti, e con la morte

6 Ibid., “Four Observations on Penance” 62–63.

7 The entire oratorio has been recorded on the CD *Reliquie di Roma, vol. 2: Caro sposo*, Atalante, E. Headly (Nimbus Alliance: 2012). That the music of the two arias is not exactly the same suggests some re-composition on Marazzoli’s part. The secular cantata is found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Fondo Chigi, ms. Q.VIII.177, fols. 136v–138r; the oratorio is BAV, Fondo Barb. lat. 4209; the aria is on fols. 28v–31r.

Tu saetti questo core: Ahi, ch'in van più strali scocchi, È ferito e già si more. Volgi altrove i dardi omai Che s'a gloria aspiri tu La crudele impiagherai: Deh non più, Amor, non più! <i>etc.</i>	Tenti in vano questo core: Ah, non teme un'alma forte Che contenta già si more. Credi a me, deh, credi omai Che s'a gloria aspiri tu Un'altr'alma tentarai: Deh non più, Signor, non più! <i>etc.</i>
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Similarly, at the very beginning of Domenico Mazzocchi's *Piangete, occhi, piangete*, the speaker could be the penitent Magdalene, or an observer of the Crucifixion, or ... an abandoned shepherd lover [Example 11.1a].⁸ For indeed, the same musical idioms and styles were used in both secular and devotional contexts. The next lines of Girolamo Preti's poem however clarify that the speaker is indeed contemplating the crucifix, envisioning the moment at which the dying Jesus utters the words 'I thirst'.⁹

Piangete, occhi, piangete Non più gli altri rigori o il dolor mio,	<i>Weep, eyes, weep no more for the sufferings of others or my pain, (= mm. 1–10)</i>
Ma il dolor del mio Dio, Che del mio pianto ha sete.	<i>but for the pain of my God who thirsts for my tears.</i>

As the lengthy poem continues, it presents some familiar tropes (weeping for the wounds, for the nails, and the open arms—likened to a bow—from which Christ hangs). The composer set these passages as alternating soprano solos,

8 Mazzocchi Domenico, "Dovremo piangere la Passion di N.S. Recitativo a 2. soprani", in *Musiche sacre e morali* (Rome: 1640; facsimile edition Florence: 1988) 52–56. Recorded by the ensemble Atalante on the CD *Reliquie di Roma, vol. 1: Lamentarium* (Nimbus Alliance: 2011). A priest and Doctor of Laws, Mazzocchi (1591–1665) served in the retinue of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini and, after 1638, of Olimpia Aldobrandini Borghese Pamphili. He composed two operas to libretti by Ottavio Tronsarelli, *La catena d'Adone* (Rome: 1626) and *Il martirio de' Santi Abundio prete, Abundantio diacono, Marciano, e Giovanni suo figliuolo, cavalieri romani* (Civita Castellana: 1641); he also composed at least eight oratorios. His highly literary bent is represented by his publications of madrigals, cantatas, dialogues, and sonnets, including numerous settings of poems by Urban VIII. His last musical print is dated 1664.

9 Girolamo Preti (c.1582–1626 in Barcelona). After being in the courts of Ferrara and Modena, Preti entered the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini senior in Rome. His 1614 *Poesie* were continuously reprinted up to 1656. Among his poems is an early dialogue for a *mascherata* to be set to music. All translations into English are by the author.

in a musical style more recitational than tuneful (mm. 90–103). The baroque ‘reveal’ to the poem, however, comes at the end of the last solo, in which the poem asks, ‘You who have wept so much, how can you, tired eyes, be dry?’ [Example 11.1b]. This is emphasized in the closing duet with the line ‘My eyes, are you too stingy of two little tears?’ (mm. 109–111). There are two ways to interpret this close. Either the eyes that have been weeping during the whole poem and cantata are now cried out, or, the entire poem has been hortatory from the very beginning; that is, it presents the listener with musical and poetic images of weeping in order to coax the ‘grace or gift’ of tears. The question ‘di due lagrimette avari sete?’ ends on an E-major chord that would normally be followed by a passage in A minor; instead, the refrain ‘Piangete, piangete’ returns for five measures in the unrelated key of C minor, an effect like walking into a damp fog or through a small waterfall. So it is not a simple rhetorical repetition. When the A-minor environment returns at m. 117, the same words are now said by or for a more receptive speaker. The listener who is attuned to the musical imagery at the opening is led at the close to identify with both words and musical ideas. Together they create far more than two little tears. We hear this kind of repetition often in music, though it is not something that vocal music has borrowed from wordless instrumental music. It constitutes a kind of amplification and rhetorical movement that is particular to musical rhythm and counterpoint. Even earlier, the composer expands an aural image of ‘so fraught with blood’ that conflates the images of flowing blood and tears (mm. 102–106), which moves into the multiple reiterations of the two key words of the poem. Thus the repetitions of ‘Piangete, occhi’ begin only with effort (with the desire to weep), and finally, they flow more freely, and at the very end, quietly. To be sure, hearing music hardly counts as a form of penance, and listening to music could be said to ignore the *Exercises*’ admonition to subordinate sensuality to ‘higher inclinations’. Yet the spiritual work of a cantata like Mazzocchi’s can be productive, recalling the sixth aid to the Ignatian exercises, to ‘keep in mind that I want to feel sorrow and pain, remembering death and judgment’.¹⁰ Indeed, as music progresses, its effect can become more and more ‘transparent’; for as music maintains and intensifies feelings of sorrow and pain, the denotative function of the repeated words falls away under the force of rhythm and harmony.

Several musical settings present the common image of the hard heart that must be softened by the message of the poem and its music. In Michi's *Empio cor, core ingrato* Christ addresses the listener directly from the Cross: 'I am dying for you, but you do not respond'.¹¹

Pian - ge - te, pian - ge - te, oc - chi, pian - ge -

Pian - ge - te, pian - ge - te, pian - ge -

9 8 4 3 #7 8

- te, Non più gli al-trui ri - go - ri, o il do-lor mi - o,

- te, Non più gli al-trui ri - go - ri, o il do-lor mi - o,

6
5

EXAMPLE 11.1A *Domenico Mazzocchi, opening of Pianete, occhi, pianete. Edited from idem, Musiche sacre e morali (Rome, L. Grignani: 1640).*

11 Anonymous poem; Orazio Michi, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2472, fols. 64–65; a complete modern edition is Hill J.W., *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1997) II, no. 163, 416–418. A performance may be heard on the cd *Orazio Michi dell'Arpa. E che vuoi più?*, La Gioannina, F. Masset (agOgique: 2013). Harpist and composer, Orazio Michi 'dell'Arpa' (1594/95–1641) came to Rome in 1613, serving in the household of the Cardinal Montalto for ten years. He was later associated with other prominent cardinal patrons of music, as well as the Oratorio of the Filippini and their church, the Chiesa Nuova, and several convents and monasteries. Arnaldo Morelli credits him with over 100 arias, canzonettas, and madrigals, all both secular and spiritual: see Morelli, "Michi, Orazio".

90

Voi, che pian-ge - ste tanto, or co-me, oc-chi miei las-si, a-ri-di sie - te?

95

Men - tre chi mi die' vi - ta, Per
Pian-ge - te, oc - chi, pian - ge - te. Men - tre chi mi die' vi - ta, Per

100

me fat - to mor-ta - le, a mor - te lan - gue, Si
me fat - to mor-ta - le, a mor - te lan - gue, Si pro - di-go di san - gue, si

104

pro-di-go di san - gue, si pro - di-go di san - gue; Oe-chi miei, oe-chi miei
pro-di-go, si pro-di-go di san - gue; Oe-chi miei,

EXAMPLE 11.1B *Mazzocchi, close of Pianete, occhi, pianete.*

109 piano
 Voi di due la-gri-met-te, di due la-gri-met-te a - va - ri se - - - te?
 piano

Voi di due la-gri-met-te, di due la-gri-met-te a - va - ri se - - - te?

112
 Pian-ge - te, pian - ge - te, oc - chi, pian - ge - te,
 Pian - ge - te, pian-ge - te, oc - chi, pian-ge - te,

b 5 b65 65 43

117
 Pian - ge - te, oc - chi, pian - ge - te, oc -
 Pian - ge - te, oc - chi, pian - ge - te, oc - chi, pian -

4 b3

119
 - chi, pian-ge - - - te.
 ge - te, oc - chi, pian - ge - - - te.

4 b3 4 # $\frac{\#}{2}$ [6] 43 43

EXAMPLE 11.1B (Cont.)

Empio cor, core ingrato,
M'han le tue colpe a questo legno affisso,
E 'l mio petto svenato
Apre per te d'ogni tesor l'abisso.
Strale d'amor più forte
M'ha già ferito a morte,
Già languisco, già moro e non rispondi:

Cor ingrato, empio cor, dove t'ascondi?

*Cruel heart, ungrateful heart,
your sins have nailed me to this wood,
and my wounded breast
opens an abyss of every treasure for you.
A stronger ray of love
has already wounded me to death;
I'm failing, I'm dying and you don't
answer:*

*Ungrateful heart, cruel heart, where are
you hiding?*

Michi's setting has Christ ask the closing question over and over again from m. 60, which becomes the heart itself seeking the grace of penance [Example 11.2].

Generalized remorse, however, does not constitute penitence, since it lacks acknowledgment of blameworthiness. Several poems move from imagery designed to inspire remorse towards imagery that provokes the admission of guilt. This poses a musical conundrum, since a sense of guilt is not pretty and should not occasion sensuousness. Orazio Michi handles this in a simple manner in his short setting of *Son mie, Signor, quelle pungenti spine*.

Son mie, Signor, quelle pungenti spine
Ch'il tuo beato crine
Cingon di punte velenose e rie.

*They are mine, Lord, those piercing thorns
that surround your blessed head
with poisonous and cruel points.*

EXAMPLE 11.2 *Orazio Michi, close of Empio cor, core ingrato. Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2472.*

Son mie, Signor, son mie.	<i>They are mine, Lord, mine.</i>
Non son le spine, ohimè,	<i>It is not thorns, alas,</i>
Che trafiggon la fronte al Signor mio:	<i>that torment my Lord's brow,</i>
Son del mio core i folli error, son io.	<i>but the senseless errors of my heart; it is I.</i>

Here once again, an image of Christ's Passion moves the speaker to compare the crown of thorns to his own errors, which cause similar pain in his heart [Example 11.3, opening]. The musical setting changes the impassioned perception of the crowned head into self-accusation by stripping the last line of the poem of all melody and regular meter. To mark this change further, this final line musically projects the multiplicity of 'folli errori' with the only melismas that occur in this brief cantata. The last line at first states this self-recognition with the unexpected 'son io', but does not close, moving to an open-ended chord (m. 35). Though a musical convention, this allows a repetition of the closing thought and a reaffirmation of human imperfection [Example 11.3, close].

A simple demonstration of how musical repetition reproduces the effect of meditating or dwelling on sin and repentance is Michi's *T'offesi e me ne pento*. The transcription of the text below in blue emphasizes the groups of words that are repeated—unusually—to different music. The lengths of the repeated phrase groups are given at the right.¹² The effect is represented in the English translation. In the actual cantata, this recurs for two further strophes.

T'offesi, e me ne pento	2 + 2 2 + 2 measures
Ma non quanto desio.	1 + 1 2 + 4
Tu, Signor, tu mio Dio,	(2 + 2) + 4
Emp'il cor di tormento	6 + 6 + 2 (di tormento)
Onde sospiri tanto	
Che renda a tua pietate un mar di pianto.	5 + 5

*I have sinned, I've sinned against you and I repent, I repent of it,
but ... but ... but not as much as I want to, not as much as I want to.
My Lord, my God—my Lord, my God,
fill my heart with torment, fill my heart with torment, with torment,
whence I will sigh so much
that I will offer a sea of tears to your mercy, offer a sea of tears to your mercy.*

¹² The first of three stanzas; poet unknown, set by Michi in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2472, fols. 49v–50r; also published in *Raccolta d'arie spirituali a 1, a 2, a 3 voci*, ed. V. Bianchi (Rome: 1640) 21. Also recorded on the CD *Orazio Michi dell'Arpa* quoted above.

30 (shifts to recitative style here)

Son mie, Si-gnor, son mi - e Quel - le pun-gen - ti spi - ne, quel -

Son del mio co - re i fol-li er - ror, son

35 io; son del mio co - re i fol-li er - ror, son del mio co - re i fol-li er -

40 ror, son i - o.

EXAMPLE 11.3 *Orazio Michi, opening and close of Son mie, Signor, quelle pungenti spine.*
Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2472.

The Michi and Mazzocchi pieces above were likely heard in non-public places as devotional music in private concerts, or in convents and confraternities. Because musical oratorios heard in semi-public oratories throughout Rome often have titles or subject-titles, we can sometimes track their performances.¹³ In this context I turn briefly to one oratorio for which the music is lost, a 1675 work that dramatizes the story of the daughter of Jephtha, a story that was told musically in several Roman oratories from the 1620s into

¹³ ‘Semi-public’ since, except for at the SS. Crocifisso where a special platform was temporarily constructed to seat them, women did not attend services held in oratories in Rome. Women did hear oratorios performed in private venues. Women would also not have performed oratorios in public oratories, but could sing in them in domestic venues.

the eighteenth century.¹⁴ In all versions, the daughter is willing to fulfill her father's vow and meet her death. She thus may serve as an exemplar of the virtue of following God's will, as Jesus of Nazareth would do centuries later. The oratorio libretto in Italian Giovanni Apolloni wrote for Lent of Holy Year 1675, however, differs from the better-known Latin dialogue set by Carissimi and makes the story more pertinent to the Lenten season.¹⁵ Apolloni invented a dialogue between Jephtha returning victorious from battle and his now-doomed daughter. When she greets him, he calls her a sphinx, a basilisk, and a skull of Medusa. She expresses shock, but he tells her to be quiet and bellows at her. Uncomprehending, she cries '[...] if you judge me guilty of anything, let the weapons of Astrea¹⁶ fall upon me'. But rather than now affirming and bewailing her innocence, Jephtha surprisingly, responds, 'Yes, you have sinned, and the penitence for your error is death'.¹⁷ Thus Apolloni accords the nameless daughter the human sinful condition. And because she will die before the promise of Christ's sacrifice, her fate is all the more to be mourned. In traditional treatments, father, daughter, and chorus weep for the daughter as a marked 'other', in grief for an impending loss. But the 1675 oratorio is crafted so that spectators and listeners can better *identify with her*, a soul in need of penitence and salvation. To weep for her in the Apolloni/Masini version is to weep for ourselves. The librettist carries a Lenten theme one step further. Before Jephtha decides to tell her of his vow, he recognizes the human pride and foolhardiness behind that act. Even the war hero must repent.

¹⁴ From at least Ottavio Tronsarelli's sacred dialogue, *La figlia di Iefte* (published in Rome in 1631) to well over a dozen before two by Caldara in 1715 and 1716. Some may have been heard in private performances, others were composed for the Seminario Romano, the oratories of the SS. Crocifisso, and S. Girolamo della Carità.

¹⁵ Written for the oratory at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the music by Antonio Masini is lost. The libretto was reset by Antonio Draghi for Vienna in 1687 (see below).

¹⁶ The ancient Greek virgin goddess of Justice.

¹⁷ 'FIGLIA: [...] mi contempli, sospiri, e non rispondi? JEPHTE: Rispondo che la sfinge de le tue men noiose ha le richieste. Sospiro ne' tuoi lumi di basilisco il guardo. Contempro in quella fronte del teschio meduseo le chiome orrende, [...] Io di tue voci abborro il suono. Padre non mi chamar, padre non sono. [...] FIGLIA: Ma se di colpa alcuna tu mi giudichi rea, cadan sopra di me l'armi d'Astrea. JEPHTE: Sì, sì! Tu peccasti e del tu[o] error la penitenza è morte'. Text extracted and reduced from Antonio Draghi, *Jephthe, oratorio*, part 2, in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB), Mus. Hs. 18884, fols. 29r–31v, digital facsimile available online via the ÖNB online catalogue (<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00142549>); facsimile print edition in *Jephthe; Le cinque piaghe di Cristo / Antonio Draghi. Oratorio di s. Pietro piangente / Pietro Andrea Ziani*, ed. J. Johnson, The Italian Oratorio 1650–1800 9 (New York – London: 1987).

FIGLIA

Se tu l'imponi, io con invitto ardire,
Benché innocente sia, vado a morire.

*If you demand it, with unbowed eagerness
I go to die, although I be innocent.*

JEPHTHE

Ferma, deh, ferma, oh Dio!
Peccasti, sì, ma peccator son'io.¹⁸

*No, wait, halt, stop, oh God!
You have erred, yes, but the sinner is I.*

Another familiar musical figure is Mary Magdalene, who was often, as in paintings, presented at the foot of the cross, as intercessor and potential stand-in for the beholder or listener. The repertory of music in which the Magdalene is present is far too extensive to explore here. Famous is the description of Loreto Vittori portraying the Magdalene at the oratory of the Vallicella and moving the listeners to tears.¹⁹ When she speaks on Golgotha, she will usually refer to her sinful earlier life—one of her identifying attributes—without necessarily dwelling on penitence for it. She was, however, also frequently painted and musically represented as ‘The Penitent Magdalene’, withdrawn from the world after the Crucifixion.²⁰ I will touch only briefly on one cantata on this subject, as a piece of counter-evidence that demonstrates the overt spiritual content of the other works on which this essay focuses. The anonymous *Penitent Mary Magdalene*, a cantata in recitative, was entered into a Roman manuscript that was copied sometime after 1646.²¹ Reading like an iconography of Mary Magdalene, the monologue is framed by a narrator’s description [Example 11.4, letter a, mm. 1–9]. Her penitential meditation subsequently unfolds in several sections easily distinguishable by the listener, when, for example, a cadence in D major is followed by a new beginning on a C-minor chord. Similar abrupt harmonic shifts mark sections of the cantata as the Magdalene addresses the cave she has retreated to, and her thoughts turn to God, to Jesus, and to her own hair, face, and hands. The poem dwells on such standard attributes of the Magdalene as her sinful past, her golden hair, her beauty, the hands that

¹⁸ ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 18884, fol. 31v.

¹⁹ The work he sang, however, remains unidentified. See Antolini, “La carriera” 152–153, and Antolini, *Loreto Vittori* 32–33.

²⁰ For an examination of the post-Tridentine image of the Magdalene in lyric poetry (Marino to c.1630), see Piantoni L., “*Lasciva e penitente*: Nuovi sondaggi sul tema della Maddalena nella poesia religiosa del Seicento”, *Studi secenteschi* 54 (2013) 25–48.

²¹ *Nella sacra spelonca ch’alteramente onora*, in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2483, fols. 4r–33v, for solo soprano and basso continuo. The text only is in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. II, VI, 43, fols. 173–175, ‘Canzonetta a s. Maria Maddalena penitente d’incerto autore romano’; see Mazzatinti G., *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d’Italia*, vol. II (Forlì: 1901).

(a)
(fol. 4) [Narrator]

Nel-la sa - cra spe - lon - ca ch'al-te - ra - men - te o - no - ra la cit - tà che dal
5 34*

ma-re il no-me pren-de, la bel - lis - si-ma A-man-te pian-se in quei mu - ti or-ro - ri
34

(b)
(fol. 26) [Magdalene]

Or è tut - ta fe - tor, ver - me et or - ro - re. Ohi - mè,
239

che qual è que - sta Sa - rò to - sto an - cor i - o, sen - za o - ro il crin e sen - za
#

(c)
(fol. 26) [Magdalene]

lu - ce il guar - do. Al - lor che gio - ve - ram - mi que - sta
243

EXAMPLE 11.4 *Anon., from Nella sacra spelonca ch'alteramente onora. Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2483.*

246

va - na bel - ta - de? Ah, ____

(d)

286 (fol. 30v)

im-plo-re - rò, Si-gnor, tua san-ta a-i - ta! Que - sta grot - ta ro -

291

(fol. 31v)

mi-ta sa-rà l'al-to mio tet-to, sa-ran le fie-re mi - e com-pa-gne e - ter - ne.

296

Sa-ran le mol-li piu-me il nu-do suo - lo, le la - gri-me be-van -

301

[Narrator]

da, e ci - bo il duo - lo. A sì pie-to-se no - te in-te-ne-ri - ti

306

i sem - pi-ter - ni A - mo - ri l'i-nal - za - van so-ven - te nel mor-tal cor - po

EXAMPLE 11.4 (Cont.)

The musical score consists of three staves of music. Staff 1 (Treble) starts at measure 310 with a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: "ol-tre l'em-pi-re - i co - ri, qui-vi gioi - va et ac-que - ta - va in Di -". Staff 2 (Bass) begins at measure 315 with a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: "- o la bel - la pe - ni - ten - te il". Staff 3 (Treble) begins at measure 318 with a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: "suo de - si - o.". The music features various note values including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

EXAMPLE 11.4 (*Cont.*)

bedecked herself in jewelry, her precious crystal, her mirror, and the skull. In other words, unlike the previous exemplars by Michi and Mazzocchi, this poem is full of concrete nouns. The monologue follows a kind of spiritual exercise that differs from the stages that lead a listener to penitence. It literally rehearses the knowledge that the world and the past are vanities, since 'Or è tutta fetor, verme, ed orrore': rot, worms and horror [Example 11.4, letter b, m. 234]. The Magdalene's thoughts turn in several directions yet move predictably from the contemplation of human imperfection to the grace of God. The musical monologue comes to a crux as the penitent exclaims 'So of what use was all this vanity?' [Example 11.4, letter c, m. 244] and declares that only Heaven can save her from it. Hope for God's grace leads the penitent to accept bare earth for a bed, tears for her thirst, and grief for food [Example 11.4, letter d, mm. 290–303]. Yet these exterior penances are not musically given the overt pain heard in the music by Michi or Mazzocchi illustrated above. The listener who has been following the rhetorical harmony of the anonymous cantata is led to the woman's practiced, penitential acceptance in a plain, stoic C major, with no state of transcendence in this enactment. This portrayal has no halo;

only as the narrator frames the picture is there any hint of the Magdalene's future sainthood (from m. 314). I would argue that the emotional plainness of this monologue is not due to lack of any musical ability on the part of the unknown composer, but rather that the musician took the measure of the poem—indeed a step-by-step presentation of a lesson, or a figure to emulate, by a teacher more than a preacher. (Indeed, one wonders if such a cantata was not intended for the ears of female religious.) The sober conclusion also recalls Ignatius's sixth directive additional to the Fifth Exercise: 'I will not think of pleasant and joyful things as heaven, the Resurrection, etc., [...] It would be better for me to keep in mind that I want to feel sorrow and pain'.²²

Apart from Biblical figures like the Magdalene, a number of mid-seventeenth-century poems and cantatas bear the generic subject title *A Repentant Sinner (Un peccator pentito)*. Among these is *Mi son fatto nemico*, a 28-minute oratorio-cantata which has been recorded under Luigi Rossi's name, but which was composed in part by Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, in collaboration with possibly two other composers.²³ Three male soloists express their failings and despair, and two boy sopranos remind them of Heaven's hope. In between, the men react in four trios that lead to a closing hortatory madrigal for all five, addressed to the listeners. The opening bass solo boldly confesses, 'I have been an enemy of the world and of Heaven [...] wherever I look I find precipices and the abysses'. He sings in a heroic, noble style of declamation quite different from any of the earlier, more intimate settings, a broad musical style quite suitable for an overt public confession [Example 11.5a].

²² Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* 61.

²³ The performing partbooks are in three hands, one Pasqualini's. The continuo score is *Oratorio Un peccator pentito. Mi son fatto nemico, cantata a 5. con stromenti*, in BAV, Barb. lat. 4191 (facsimile edition in *Anonymous Oratorios in the Barberini Collection of the Vatican Library*, ed. H.E. Smither, The Italian Oratorio 1650–1800 2 [New York: 1986]), which is in Pasqualini's hand. The libretto is by Giovanni Lotti. On the oratorio, its sources and a modern edition, see Grampf F., "Eine anonyme Kollektion römischer Oratorienkantaten und Oratorien: Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen Oratoriums im 17. Jahrhundert", 2 vols., Ph.D. diss. (Rome, Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra: 2001). A recent recording is on the CD Rossi – Mazzocchi – Carissimi, *Il tormento e l'estasi*, Los Músicos de Su Alteza, L.A. González (Alpha: 2010/2012). Castrato soprano in the Sistine Chapel and composer, Pasqualini (1614–1691) also served Cardinal Antonio Barberini and sang in several Barberini operas in Rome, as well as in dramatic music for Parma (1628) and Paris (1647). Over 240 cantatas may be attributed to him in addition to several oratorio-cantatas, four Latin motets, and a Mass (now lost). See Murata M. (ed.), *Thematic Catalogue of Chamber Cantatas by Marc'Antonio Pasqualini*, JSCM Instrumenta 3, <http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/instrumenta-volumes/instrumenta-volume-3/>, 2016.

Mi son fat-to ne - mi - co il mon-do e'l Cie-lo, mi son fat-to ne - mi - co il mon-do e'l
Lira
Cie - lo, ché con l'or-ror de' più tre-men-di ec-ces - si ho pro-voca - to l'E - tra
6

a ful - mi - nar - mi, la ter - ra a su - bis - sar - mi,
7 6 #

EXAMPLE 11.5A Anon., from *Mi son fatto nemico*. Edited from *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4191, fol. 1r-iv* (in the facsimile edition: Anonymous Oratorios in the Barberini Collection of the Vatican Library, ed. H.E. Smither, *The Italian Oratorio 1650-1800 2* [New York: 1986] 299-300).

Col - pe mie, ve - ni - te a pian - ge - re, ve - ni - te a
Col - pe mie, ve - ni - te a pian - ge - re, ve - ni - te a
Col - pe mie, ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te a pian - ge - re.
pian - ge - re, ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te a pian - ge - re.
pian - ge - re; ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te a pian - ge - re.

EXAMPLE 11.5B Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, from *Mi son fatto nemico*. Edited from BAV, *Barb. lat. 4191, fol. 8v* (in the facsimile edition: Anonymous Oratorios 314).

Mi son fatto nemico il mondo e 'l Cielo
Ché con l'orror de' più tremendi eccessi
Ho provocato l'etra a fulminarmi,

La terra a subissarmi,
E dovunque già mai li lumi ho fissi
Incontro precipizii e trovo abissi;
[...]

*I have made Heaven and Earth my enemy,
since with the horror of the greatest excesses
I've provoked bolts from the ether to strike
me,*

*the ground to swallow me up,
and wherever I have turned my eyes
I meet precipices and find chasms;
[...]*

The second singer claims to be a greater sinner. The three mourn, 'Every hope from above is closed to me', and one even fears that his soul 'will never find forgiveness'. After a soprano voice then reminds them of God's mercy, a mercy that pardons even greater evildoers, the trio of sinners take on their own guilt in a penitential tone [Example 11.5b].

Colpe mie, venite a piangere.
Ben sapete chi voi siete:
Sete quelle che rubelle
Ogni legge del Ciel poteste frangere.

*My wrongdoings, come and weep.
Well you know who you are:
you are those who, rebellious,
were able to break every law of Heaven.*

The point of Giovanni Lotti's moral fable is that complaint, hopelessness, and fear do not constitute repentance; only 'if a groan be heard' can 'even the paricide become glorious', and Christ's blood turn the icy heart to fire. The purpose of the musical setting is to make confessions and groans alike both audible and memorable.

That promise, however, is granted only upon request. We can hear that in the closing tercet of Urban VIII's sonnet on the crucified Christ, *Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita*, which was set by Orazio Michi before 1640.²⁴

²⁴ Barberini Maffeo, "Meditatione della Passione di Christo", sonetto 24, in *Poesie toscane del card. Maffeo Barberino oggi papa Urbano ottavo* (Rome: 1635) 24. Set to music by Michi, *Sonetto di Papa Urbano VIII sopra Christo crocifisso*, in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2490, fols. 56v–58r. Michi's setting has been recorded on the CD *Orazio Michi dell'Arpa* quoted above. A cardinal priest from 1606, Barberini (1568–1644) became pope in 1623, taking the name of Urban VIII. Two volumes of his poetry were published in his lifetime, one of Latin verse (Paris: 1620), the other Italian (1635); both had numerous re-editions. As a cardinal and academician, he cultivated literature and the arts, and as pope he appointed men of letters to offices within his papacy.

Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita,
Le mani, e i piè trafitti, ed in giù chine

*I see the harsh wound in your side,
hands and feet pierced, and your
bowed*

Le tempie avvinte da pungenti spine,
GESÙ, per darmi con tua morte vita.

*head encircled by sharp thorns,
JESU, to bring me life by your death.*

E pur nel fango del piacer nodrita

*And yet nourished in the mud of
pleasure
the soul far from You, its true goal,
still ices over, though it has nearby
the flames of your love that calls to
it.*

L'alma lungi da te, suo vero fine,
Vieppiù s'agghiaccia ancorch'abbia vicine
Le fiamme del tuo amor, che a sé l'invita.

Trema la terra, e 'l Sol d'oscurò velo
Si cuopre il volto, ed io nelle mie gravi
Colpe m'induro, e 'l sen gelato stassi.

*The earth shakes and the sun covers
its face with a dark veil, and I harden
in my deep guilt, and my breast
remains frozen.*

Deh, il foco tuo, Signor, disfaccia il gelo,
Le macchie del mio cor tuo sangue lavi,

*Oh let your fire, Lord, undo the ice,
your blood wash the stains of my
heart,*

O almen lo pieghi il duol che rompe i sassi. *or at least let Your pain that breaks
stones move it.*

The viewer sees the Good Friday earthquake and darkened sky, and the projected sense of his own sin and selfishness keeps his heart congealed and impervious. Thus it is in the closing tercet that the poet/singer asks for the promise described in Lotti's cantata—that not only Christ's blood wash away his sins but also that Christ's pain reach the sinner's stony heart. This is a sonnet written not in the throes of anguish, but a meditation arising from immobility and darkness. Example 11.6 opens with the end of the first tercet (at a), which is in a hollow A-minor harmony, except for a closing in of vocal and bass lines to an almost illicit G major on the word 'induro'. The second tercet (at b) extends the A minor, but with brief stabbing dissonances and wavering or would-be melting rhythms in the voice. It is in the final words of the sonnet with their angular, unbalanced setting that the penitent identifies with the intensity of Christ's pain in a leaping musical gesture that conveys a breaking ('che rompe'). True to the sonnet, however, after this, no transformation or salvation occurs. The tonic A minor returns; sonnet and music remain an exhortation.

a)

b)

72

78

86

89

EXAMPLE 11.6 *Orazio Michi, Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita. Edited from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2490, excerpted from mm. 59–92.*

Oratorios of course could position similar requests in a narrative context. A Biblical figure of repentance, one who seems rare as a cantata subject, is the lustful King David who conspired to have his Hittite general Uriah killed on the battlefield, after an adulterous affair with his wife Bathsheba (*2 Sam 11–12*). The music is lost for one early seventeenth-century oratorio that focuses on David as a transgressor, in a libretto by Loreto Vittori.²⁵ Another is Lelio Orsini's *David*

²⁵ Loreto Vittori's *Il Davide penitente*, published in Rome in 1652, in a volume of twenty libretti that Vittori wrote in the manner of works performed at the Oratory of the Chiesa Nuova. King David's penitential solo begins by evoking one of the penitential psalms (*Ps 50 [51]*):

prevaricante, e poi pentito, set to music by Carlo Caproli, in which one of the king's monologues echoes cantata poetry:

David (excerpt)

Peccai, Signor, peccai;
 Perdona i falli miei,
 E se non men che Dio padre tu sei,
 Di furore la man disarmerai.
 Peccai, Signor, peccai.
 Quell'audace son io, che tanto offesi
 Chi pietoso m'addusse
 Da la capanna al trono, e non temei
 Torre con voglia ardita
 Ad Uria pria l'onor, indi la vita,
 Mentre un mortal sembiante idolatrati;
 Peccai, Signor, peccai.²⁶

*I have sinned, Lord, I've sinned:
 pardon my errors,
 and if you're no less a father than a God,
 you will disarm the fury of your hand.*
*I have sinned, Lord, I have sinned.
 I am that bold one, who offended so much
 him who mercifully brought me
 from the hut to the throne, not fearing to
 take*
*in my audacious desire
 first Uriah's honor, and then his life,
 while I idolized a human being;
 I have sinned, Lord, I have sinned.*

'Miserere di me, Signor, perdonò; / Errai, nol niego, errai, / Ma del mio grave errore / Tua pietade è maggiore, / [...] / Signor deh crea dentr'il mio seno un core / Candido, e mondo, e degno egli si renda / Del tuo divino amore [...]'

(transcribed by Christian Speck in *Das italienische Oratorium, 1625–1665* [Turnhout: 2003], part 3 [on CD-ROM]). Most of Vittori's scores are lost. See the fortunes of Michele Bruguere's libretto to the oratorio *Bersabea* in Morelli A., "La circolazione dell'oratorio italiano nel Seicento", *Studi musicali* 36, 1 (1997) 105–186, at 136.

26 The text is edited in Speck, *Das italienische Oratorium*, part 3 (on CD-ROM) and discussed on pp. 369–385. A libretto was printed in Vienna for Lent of 1661, which seems unlikely to have been its first performance. The score in ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 16272 names Orsini and Caproli; a date of 1683 appears to have been added to the original title page (available online through <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00485089>). This portion of the monologue is found on fols. 66v–68r (online scans 139–142). Florian Bassani does not include this text in his list of libretti by Lelio Orsini: see Bassani F., "Biographische Materialien zur Geschichte des römischen Oratoriums im 17. Jahrhundert: Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, Giovanni Lotti, Giulio Cesare Raggioli, D. Lelio Orsini", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 122, 2 (2010) 399–430. Caproli is also author of the penitential cantata 'Peccai, son reo di morte, / Signor, l'aspetto e tremo' (Affortunato no. 91), preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2490, fols. 1r–3v; Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, ms. Q.49, fols. 7v–10v; and Evanston (U.S.), Northwestern University School of Music, MS 1, fols. 62v–66v.

(fol. 66v)

fol. 67

6

76 # 7#6 # #

10

fol. 67v

6 5

5 6 6 6

EXAMPLE 11.7A *Carlo Caproli, from David prevaricante, e poi pentito. Edited from Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 16272.*

Caproli cast David's role for a deep bass. Unfussy, the recitative moves broadly and smoothly between an upper reciting register for a bass and cadences with tones ranging from C₃ down to the E_b2 [Example 11.7a]. This penitent has a different profile than the bass of *Mi son fatto nemico*; he does not rage and weep, rather his remorse accumulates in the course of this monologue, gaining flats. He closes the monologue with an aria in F minor, 'Sono a Dio così gradite, / occhi miei, le vostre stille'. Example 11.7b gives its closing. This David exemplifies a powerful ruler with grave personal defects who acknowledges his wrong-doings in the public forum of an oratorio.

A further example of requests for punishment and pardon with music comes from a poem titled *The Penitent Turns to God*, by Domenico Benigni, in another setting by Domenico Mazzocchi.²⁷ As printed in the score, each of its two strophes has five poetic lines; yet an internal rhyme and alliteration,

²⁷ Mazzocchi Domenico, *Pentito si rivolge a Dio*, a 3, in *Musiche sacre e morali* (Rome: 1640) 89–91. A performance on the CD *Il tormento e l'estasi* quoted above overemphasizes weepiness despite the choppy, 'flailing' poetic meters. Domenico Benigni (1596–1653)

9 (fol.71)

Dal mio sen dun-que fug - gi - te di gio - ir vo-glie mal - na - te, or che più non m'in-gan-na - te! Fia ch'in un mar di pian - ti io mi di - stem - pre: Me-glio è pian - ger un dì, che pian - ger sem - pre; me - glio è pian - ger un dì, me - glio è pian - ger un dì, che pian - ger sem - pre, che pian - ger sem - pre.

(fol.71v)

EXAMPLE 11.7B Caproli, from David prevaricante, e poi pentito, the close of King David's aria, 'Sono a Dio così gradite' Edited from ÖNB, Mus. Hs. 16272.

coupled with musical rhythm and phrase repetitions, not only project a strophe of six lines (3+3 with lines 2 and 5 as short lines), but they furthermore break up those lines into audibly shorter groups.

served as secretary to several cardinals and Pope Innocent x. He wrote poetry for music in Rome from the early 1620s, including the opera *Sant'Agnese* for the Pamphilis in 1651.

1 Benché sdegnato | del mio fallire
ti mostri a me,
non vo' seguire | altri che te.

*Although you show me | that all my failures
give you offense,
I will not follow | any but you.*

Fuggimi, struggimi ognor, |
porgimi pene,
ne' flagelli del Ciel | vive mia spene.

*Flee from me and always torment me, |
make me suffer:
with the flails of Heaven | my hope stays
alive.*

2 Or che pentito | dell'error mio
chieggio pietà,
so ch'il mio Dio | m'accoglierà.

*Since I'm repentant | of all my mistakes,
mercy I ask;
I know that my God | will embrace me.*

Piaghisi, allaghisi il cor, |
stillisi in duolo,
ne' flagelli del Ciel | io mi consolo.

*Wounded and drowned let my heart |
in grief be distilled:
with the flails of Heaven | I console myself.*

In its first stanza, the penitent acknowledges his guilt; in the second, one hears now-familiar dissonances in a gentle triple meter that begs for mercy. End-accented syllables (*me, te, pietà, accoglierà*, as well as *ognor* and *cor*) permeate the entire poem and its musical setting, evoking the external penance of flagellation. Short repetitions, especially ‘ne’ flagelli del Ciel’, create a texture of musical flails against a harmony that looks to Heaven (Example 11.8 marks the ‘flails’). The music wants to close in G major, the key that closes the first half. The C- and D-sharps of the last measures, however, remind the ear that the penance still stings. They lead instead to a close in E minor, with a G-natural that makes the minor third notated in the first soprano part. The final low E2 for the bass singer calls attention to the masculine penitent of the trio. Mazzocchi successfully captures flails (short, imitative figures), weeping (dropping lines in triple meter), hope (aura of G major), and remorse (close in the minor mode with the second soprano rising above the first, almost as a wail) in a polished eight measures each felt in two (*alla breve*).

In the short span of a piece of music, this movement from hardness of heart to penitence to consolation—if not to the joy of hope—is probably difficult to avoid and must be gauged by every composer with a sensitive reading of the poetic text and also perhaps by foreknowledge of the audience and the time within the church calendar that the music is destined to be heard.

The musical score consists of four staves of music for three voices (two sopranos and basso continuo) and two continuo parts. The music is in common time, with various key signatures (G major, A major, E major, F# major). The vocal parts are written in soprano range, while the continuo parts provide harmonic support. The lyrics, written in both French and Italian, describe a penitential theme, specifically the desire for salvation and the fear of damnation.

49

Ne' fla - gel - li del Ciel, ne' fla -
spe - ne, Ne' fla - gel - li del Ciel,

54

gel - li del Ciel, ne' fla - gel - li del
Ciel, ne' fla - gel - li del Ciel,

58

Ciel vi -
vi - ve mia spe - ne,
vi - ve mia spe -

61

ve mia spe - ne
vi - ve mia spe - ne.

EXAMPLE 11.8 *Domenico Mazzocchi, close of Benché sdegnato del mio fallire, for two sopranos, bass, and basso continuo. Edited from idem, Musiche sacre e morali (Rome, L. Grignani: 1640).*

The work of any one of these cantatas is more ephemeral than the liturgical definition and responsibilities of music during Holy Week, and certainly much more transient than the self-reinforcing and disciplined practices of weeks of spiritual exercises. Yet, this small group of compositions illustrates that these penitential cantatas (and moments in Lenten oratorios) do not merely reflect the words of their poems, stitching together apposite musical clichés. Nor are they a superficial stream of laments, though the poetic vocabulary turns the extremely familiar, but central, imagery of Lenten meditation over and over. The most nuanced of them sensitively explore Roberto Bellarmino's concept of *felix tristitia* that Piantoni evokes in his consideration of the Magdalene.²⁸

The delicate, non-linear progression from self-disgust to the desire for cleansing tears, and then *the promise* of salvation (which is held out but—correctly and importantly—not granted in these portrayals of penitence) forms the shifts and tensions in the shorter as well as the longer works. One final example illustrates how a later musical style that is less flexible and capable of nuance than the music before the 1660s structures a penitent's 'progress'. The oratorio-cantata *Padre, Signore e Dio* by Bernardo Pasquini is a dialogue between a basso who has asked if Christ can pardon his sin and a soprano who declares that acknowledgement of Guilt is not sufficient; God also requires and grants Faith, Hope, and Charity.²⁹ Her words help the bass arrive at the transformative moment in which he desires that his tears turn into flames of love, in a familiar paradox: 'Oh, foss'io tutto doglia nel contento, / Tutto gioia nel tormento!' This mix remains in the concluding duet.

²⁸ Piantoni, "Lasciva e penitente" 44–45.

²⁹ The libretto is anonymous; the music by Pasquini, *Padre, Signore e Dio, cantata a 2 [...] con stromenti*, is in Fano, Biblioteca Comunale Fredericiana, ms. 90 (a Roman manuscript); modern edition in Pasquini Bernardo, *Le cantate*, ed. A. Nigito (Turnhout: 2012) 445–489. The cantata has been recorded on the CD Pasquini Bernardo, *Passion Cantatas*, Capella Tiberina, G. Caruso, A. Nigito (Brilliant Classics: 2012). Keyboard player and composer, Pasquini (1637–1710) became a member of the Arcadian Academy in 1706. He is credited with at least eighteen operas and thirteen oratorios, in addition to sixty-six Italian cantatas and numerous keyboard works in every genre. His permanent positions were as organist in various churches in Rome, but as a chamber musician he served several noble houses, the Rospigliosi, Colonna, Ottoboni, Pamphili, and Borghese, as well as Queen Christine of Sweden.

Già sento nel petto
La pena, il diletto
Che l'alma tormenta,
Che il cor mi contenta.
Peno per Dio spirante,
Godo per Dio ch'è amante;
E fra tante dolcezze
Nella reggia del core
Or con gioia, or con duol, trionfi Amore.

*I already feel in my breast
the pain, the delight
that tortures the soul,
that contents the heart.
I suffer for the dying God,
I rejoice for God who is a lover;
and amid such sweetness
in the royal home of the heart—
now with joy, now with grief—let Love
triumph.*

The music develops the contradictions in the poem, juxtaposing them with clever intertwining of the two voices, with shifting appearances of ‘gioia’ and ‘duol’ of which **Example 11.9** gives but a brief illustration. The final line, repeated several times, remains however steadfastly subjunctive—‘trionfi Amore’, and in no way declares the Resurrection to come.

619 [Vlns]

619

Or con gio - - ia, or con gio -
or con duol,
- ia tri-on-fi A - mo - re, tri-on-fi A - mo - re;
or con duol tri-on-fi A - mo - re;

624

EXAMPLE 11.9 *Bernardo Pasquini, from the closing duet to Padre, Signore e Dio. Reduced from B. Pasquini, Le cantate, ed. A. Nigito (Turnhout: 2012) 486–487.*

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Music for the Soul: Death and Piety in Sixteenth-Century Barcelona¹

Tess Knighton

Any attempt to understand the daily musical experience of the citizens of early modern Barcelona has to take into account the nexus between death, piety, and the firm belief in the role of music as a conduit for the passage of the soul through Purgatory. It is clear from a study of wills preserved in the Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona that the city's houses, streets, churches, and chapels were filled daily with the sounds of the ceremonial of death and the music that accompanied the trajectory of the soul into the afterlife. For the sixteenth-century mindset, the liturgy celebrated on earth in the form of sung Requiem and other Masses paved the way to Heaven and the experience of hearing the celestial music of the angels, a belief reflected in the visual arts and writings of the period. Testamentary investment through suffrages of various kinds in the intercessionary power of the Mass resulted in musical patronage by the many citizens, some of quite modest means, who stipulated sung Masses—usually in plainchant but sometimes in polyphony—and the playing of the organ. The bells that tolled in the belfries of the city's churches to signal the passing of the souls of Barcelona's citizens, and the funeral ceremonies and celebration of the anniversaries they founded, formed the soundworld of death which characterized daily urban life and would have been familiar to all. This essay is based on the study of hundreds of wills from sixteenth-century Barcelona as well as other writings of the period that help to establish the eschatological beliefs behind the making of a will and the specification of and investment in musico-liturgical practices with which the testator was familiar and which were heard by those who remained on earth to mourn his or her passing.² The reforms of the Council of Trent clearly began to have some

¹ The research for this essay forms part of the Marie Curie Foundation Integration Grant project 'Urban Musics and Musical Practices in Sixteenth-Century Europe' (URBANMUSICS CIG-2012 no.321876) based at the Institució Milà i Fontanals-CSIC in Barcelona.

² The sixteenth-century wills that form the basis of this analysis of eschatological beliefs and devotional practice in Barcelona are preserved in the Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona (hereafter AHPB).

impact before 1600,³ but testators' wishes were informed by established medieval traditions with firm roots in popular religion which the Church only slowly began to eradicate in the course of the seventeenth century. The questions as to who was listening to the music integral to the *mentalité* of the prospect of death and an indefinite sojourn in Purgatory, and as to which kind of musics were considered efficacious for the salvation of the soul, can help to shed light on the listening practices of Early Modern Catholicism in Barcelona.

The concept of Purgatory and the testator's need to invest in the safe and speedy passage of the soul has been much studied since Jacques Chiffolleau's pioneering book *La comptabilité de l'au-delà*, first published in 1980.⁴ Chiffolleau's reading of the will, in the context of the quintessentially mercantile culture that had developed throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, as a document of negotiation for the soul in which spiritual services were contracted out, has proved highly influential, not only within the French *Annales* school,⁵ but also among Spanish cultural historians.⁶ By the late fourteenth

3 Bada J., *Situació religiosa de Barcelona en el segle XVI* (Barcelona: 1970); Kamen H., *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven – London: 1993).

4 Chiffolleau J., *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320-vers 1480)* (Rome – Paris: 1980).

5 Several studies by French *Annalistes* relating to the *mentalité* of death appeared at this time: Ariès P., *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris: [1977]); Le Goff J., *La naissance du purgatoire* ([Paris]: 1981); and Vovelle M., *La mort et l'Occident: de 1300 à nos jours* (Paris: 1983).

6 Wills have been mined for evidence concerning attitudes towards the ritual of death by many Spanish cultural historians, including Romero Fernández-Pacheco J.R., "Morir en Madrid a finales del siglo xv: Economía monástica y mentalidades religiosas", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 19 (1989) 573–586; Broida E., "Actitudes religiosas de las mujeres medievales ante la muerte. (Los testamentos de Barcelonas de los siglos XIV y XV)", in Muñoz Fernández Á. (ed.), *Las mujeres en el cristianismo medieval* (Madrid: 1989) 463–475; Gómez Nieto L., "La religiosidad feminina en la Sepúlveda del siglo XVI a través de sus testamentos", ibid. 477–487; Portela E. – Pallares M.d.C., "Los espacios de la muerte", in *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media (II)*, Publicacions en estudios medievals 15 (Santiago de Compostela: 1992) 27–35; Gómez Nieto L., "Las misas por los difuntos: Testamentos madrileños bajomedievales", *En la España Medieval* 15 (1992) 353–366; eadem, *Ritos funerarios en la Madrid medieval* (Madrid: 1993); Eire C.M.N., *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: 1995); Ferrer i Mallol M.T., "Després de la mort: L'actuació d'algunes marmessories a través de un manual del notari barceloní Nicolau de Medina (1437–1438)", *Analecta Sacra Tarragonensis* 71 (1998) 281–325; Piñol Alabart D., *A les portes de la mort: Religiositat i ritual funerari al Reus del segle XIV* (Reus: 1998); García Herrero M.d.C. – Falcón Pérez M.I., "En torno a la muerte a finales de la Edad Media aragonesa", *En la España Medieval* 29 (2006) 153–186; Baldó Alcoz J., "Las misas post mortem: simbolismos y devociones en torno a la muerte y el más allá en la Navarra bajomedieval", *Zainak* 28 (2006) 353–374. Also useful is: Azpeitia Martín M., "Historiografía de la 'historia de la muerte'", *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* 26 (2008) 113–132.

century, the belief that the transition through Purgatory could be shortened by the combined intercession of divine advocacy and earthly piety resulted in the accumulation of Masses and other devotional bequests specified in wills and was widely established throughout Catholic Europe. Intercessors for the soul included Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints of the ‘celestial court’, as well as their representatives on earth, the secular and regular clergy, the confraternities and the deserving poor, orphans, prisoners, and the sick. All these figures were either invoked in the will or were left legacies to ensure their participation in the perpetual prayers and suffrages for the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Investment in Masses—and the celebration of the Eucharist was seen as the most direct connection with God—and other pious bequests was believed to produce a healthy return in the reduction of the time spent by the soul in Purgatory. Purgatory was thus seen as a kind of waiting-room for the soul, where suffering akin to the torments of Hell would have to be endured until earthly sin was expiated through intercessionary prayers and other suffrages—many of them involving music—stipulated by the deceased in his or her will and realized by the living through the agency of the Church.

The close association in the mindset of the later Middle Ages between the efficacy of musical intervention in the ritual of death and the trajectory of the soul is clear from the description of the royal exequies held in 1479 for John II of Aragon.⁷ This detailed record of princely ceremonial of death was commissioned from the royal chronicler Pere Miquel Carbonell by the king’s son, Ferdinand the Catholic, who was at that time in Castile and unable to attend his father’s funeral. In this extract concerning the vigil and lying-in-state of John II’s body, Carbonell expresses succinctly but directly the underlying assumption behind music’s role in the pious acts and suffrages realized after death:

E encara per major solemnitat e companya del dit cors Real e elevatio de penes que passa s la anima del dit Senyor Rey, tots los capellans, xandres e scholans de la sua capella Real stigueren aqui tots los dies e nits continuament tan com stech lo dit cors Real en la dita gran sala que may lo lexaren cantants a contrapunct e en aquella forma que acostumaven cantar en la capella del dit Senyor Rey quant vivia.⁸

⁷ Carbonell Pere Miquel, *De exequiis sepultura et infirmitate Regis Joannis secundi* (1479), in Bofarull y Sartorio M. de (ed.), *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pere Miquel Carbonell*, Colección de Documentos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón 27 (Barcelona: 1864) 137–320.

⁸ Carbonell, *De exequiis* 155. Original orthography is retained in all the transcriptions; the translations are the author’s unless otherwise stated.

For the greater solemnity of the occasion and vigil of the Royal Body, and for relief from the torments through which the king's soul must pass, all the chaplains, singers, and choirboys of his royal chapel remained there continuously, day and night, as long as the Royal Body remained in the great hall; and they never ceased singing in counterpoint and in that manner in which they used to sing in the king's chapel while he was alive.

The brief phrase 'relevatio de penes que passa s la anima del dit Senyor Rey' is key to understanding the eschatological beliefs of the time.⁹ While a king might have his own chapel and singers to perform polyphonic music at his funeral for the swift passage of his soul, lesser mortals had to rely on the bequests they made in their wills to ecclesiastical institutions, according to the means they had at their disposal and their experience of musico-liturgical practice. Behind this, however, lay the eschatological belief that angels would receive the soul into Heaven, so that earthly music would give way to celestial harmony. Angels as receivers of souls are commonly depicted in iconography of the period. The woodcut illustrating the moment of death from the Zaragoza 1483 edition of the *Arte de bien morir*, a version in Castilian of the anonymous *Ars moriendi* that circulated throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, depicts two angels receiving the soul (in the form of a young child) while devils circle the deathbed [Fig. 12.1]. In order to prevent the Devil snatching the soul at its most vulnerable moment—the moment of death—it was believed that the

⁹ The trope of music as nexus between earth and Heaven is neatly turned on its head in Bernat Metge's *Lo somni* (1399). In a dream, the author finds the recently deceased king, John I, in Purgatory. Ironically, one of the king's sins while he was alive was that he was deemed to have taken too much delight in music. In Purgatory, he thus finds himself suffering the torment of terrible discordant, unmeasured, and unmelodious sounds: 'e per tal jo trobava gran plaer en xandres e ministrrers, aquest hom qui té la rota entre les mans, ab molta discordança me fa deuant sons desplaents e llunyants de bon temps e mesura e finalment de tota melodia' (Metge Bernat, *Lo somni*, ed. M. Jordà [Barcelona: 1986] 16–17). The king urgently reminds Metge of the importance of suffrages undertaken by the living on behalf of souls in Purgatory: 'Jo estic be e jatsia que als defuncts aprofiten servent los sufràgies dels vius, no fretur molt de res a hòmens', cited in Rodríguez Barral P., *La justicia del más allá: Iconografía en la Corona de Aragón en la baja Edad Media* (Valencia: 2007) 30.



¶ *J el q esta en la agonía q articulo
dela muerte pudiere fablar q vsar
dela razon. trabájese por ocupar se
en oraciones primeramente llamando a
dios q suplicando lo que tenga por bien*

FIGURE 12.1 *The deathbed. Anon., Arte de bien morir (Zaragoza: 1483).*



FIGURE 12.2 *Heaven*. Pere Vall (fl.1405–1411), Retable of St. Anne. Cardona, church of Sant Miquel. Detail.

angels would safeguard its transition, aided by the intercessionary prayers of priests, the dying person, and his or her family members.¹⁰

Wills often invoked the ‘cort celestial’ and thus reflect, albeit indirectly, the widespread eschatological belief that associated salvation with angelic intervention and the bringing of the soul into contact with celestial music. The Catalan painter Pere Vall (fl.1405–1411), in his portrayal of the reception of the souls of the departed into the Celestial City, depicts a reception party of a trio of angels playing lute, recorder, and vielle [Fig. 12.2].¹¹ Bernat Serradell de Vic’s versified ‘will’ of 1419 describes Paradise as a place of sensorial delights (lines 773–780):¹²

L’ausir serà així content,
quant sentirà
la grant dolçor que naxarà

*Hearing will thus be happy,
when it hears
the great sweetness born*

¹⁰ See Anon., *Arte de bien morir y Breve confesonario* (Zaragoza, Pablo Hurus: c.1479–1484), ed. F. Gago Jover (Barcelona – Palma de Mallorca: 1999). The priest kneeling in prayer with a lighted candle and the vision of Christ crucified surrounded by the Virgin and saints who will intercede for the soul complete an image that was as familiar in the iconography of the period as it must have been in real life. The text exhorts the dying man to seek to occupy himself in prayer in order to make a good death: ‘el que esta en la agonia e articulo de la muerte [...] trabaje por ocuparse en oraciones’.

¹¹ Pere Vall, *Retable of St. Anne* in the church of Sant Miquel, Cardona. This retable is also of interest for its depiction of St. Amador (see below). See: Rodríguez Barral P., “Purgatorio y culto de los santos en la plástica catalana bajomedieval”, *Locus Amoenus* 7 (2003–2004) 35–51.

¹² *Testament de Bernat Serradell de Vic*, ed. A. Pacheco (Barcelona: 1971) 93.

dels esturments
e dels cants dolços plasents
angelichals,
que él, oblidant cuytes e mals,
reposarà.

*of the instruments
and sweet, pleasing songs
of the angels,
so that it, forgetting all strife,
will find rest.*

One of the most popular devotional tracts of the period was Francesc Eiximenis's *Llibre dels àngels* of 1392, a work widely disseminated in manuscript and in several printed editions of around 1500; the 1494 contract for the edition published by Joannes Rosenbach alone specified a print run of 700 copies.¹³ It regularly appears in the *post-mortem* inventories of Barcelona citizens, from nobles, members of the clergy, and lawyers through the artisan class (shop-keepers, tanners, carpenters, and farriers) to peasants.¹⁴ Eiximenis, who drew largely on Dionysius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchy* for his own book on angels, aimed to make such scholastic disquisitions more accessible to the lay reader: the *Llibre dels àngels* was not intended primarily for 'high-ranking clergymen but for simple, devout people'.¹⁵ He related how some people were said to hear angels singing as their soul was transported to Heaven: 'and we read of many who at the end of their days see and hear singing angels who transport their souls'.¹⁶ The trope of hearing angelic music—usually deemed inaudible to mortal ears—shortly before death persisted and is still found in later writings such as the diary of the Barcelona tanner Miquel Parets, whose son fell victim to the plague in 1651:

Tres dies abans que no moris me va cridar a mi i a sa mare, amostrant-nos en la cambra a ont dormia Nostra Senyora accompanyada de moltes verges i sant Josep lo seu patro i l'arcangel Sant Miquel i molts altres angles, i deia que sentia una gran olor de roses i altres olors molt suaus, sens haver-hi res en nostra cambra. I tambe deia que sentia una gran musica

¹³ The contract is dated 22 April 1494. Madurell Marimón J.M. – Rubio Balaguer J., *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474–1553)* (Barcelona: 1955) 190–193.

¹⁴ Peña Díaz M., *El laberinto de los libros: Historia cultural de la Barcelona del Quinientos* (Madrid: 1997) 95–96.

¹⁵ Peña Díaz, *El laberinto* 96: ‘ne a grans clergues, mas a persones simples e devotes’.

¹⁶ Eiximenis Francesc, *Llibre dels àngels* (1493), book 4, ch. 3: ‘E de molts llegim que en la fi de llurs dies són apareguts e oïts àngels cantants qui se’n portaven llurs ànimés’. Cited in Perpiñá C., ‘Música angélica en la imagen mariana: Un discurso visual sobre la esperanza de salvación’, *Acta/Artis. Estudis d’Art Modern* 1 (2013) 29–49, at 36.

i feu eixir a sa mare de la cambra que el governaba dient que li deixas gustar d'aquella gran musica.¹⁷

Three days before he died, he called his mother and myself to show us where Our Lady was sleeping, accompanied by many virgins and St. Joseph, his patron, and the archangel St. Michael, and many other angels, and he said he could smell the strong scent of roses and other sweet smells, though there was nothing in our room. And he also said that he could hear a marvelous music, and he made his mother leave the room in which he lay to leave him to enjoy that wonderful music.

The association with angels as the intercessors between Heaven and earth who released souls from Purgatory and accompanied them to the Celestial City to the sound of their heavenly music was thus widely conveyed from the later Middle Ages through iconography, religious tracts, and sermons and undoubtedly formed part of the shared imaginarium of popular religion.¹⁸

Testators invoked the ‘celestial court’ and invested in suffrages, including religious services, to ensure a swift passage of the soul through Purgatory to the delights of Paradise with its angelic music. The most efficacious of these suffrages was deemed to be the celebration of the Mass, with each offering of the Eucharist reducing the amount of time to be spent in Purgatory and eventually opening the way for the salvation of the soul. This was the message of the legend of St. Amador, so widespread an aspect of popular religion in the Catalan area that I have yet to find a will from sixteenth-century Barcelona, however lacking in resources the testator was, that does not invoke it through the celebration of the *trentenari de Sant Amador*.¹⁹ Eiximenis’s writings were again one of the primary sources for the story of St. Amador whose parents made a pact with the Devil in order to be able to conceive a son. Shortly after the child’s birth he was abducted by demons and abandoned on a mountain in Egypt where St. Paul had erected an oratory to the Virgin. Calling on the intercession of the Virgin, the child was freed from the demons and baptized Amador. Years later Amador had a vision of his deceased parents in Purgatory,

¹⁷ Parets Miquel, *De molts successos que han succeït dins Barcelona* (1626–1660). Cited in idem, *Dietari d'un any de pesta: Barcelona 1651*, ed. J.S. Amelang – X. Torres i Sans (Vic: 1989) 65.

¹⁸ Perpiñá, “Música angélica”.

¹⁹ Llompart G., “Aspectos populares del purgatorio medieval”, *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 26 (1970) 253–274, esp. 264–274. The legend of St. Amador as depicted in Pere Vall’s *Retable of St. Anne* in the church of Sant Miquel, Cardona, is reproduced as Figure 6, opposite page 265.

and St. Paul urged him to celebrate thirty-three Masses in order to release their souls. Eiximenis concludes his account with a comment on the efficacy of the *trentenari*:

E sapiau que tots aquells qui aquestes misses desús dites faràn dir per les ànimes de purgatori en continent que serán dites, les ànimes per les quals tu hauràs fet dir les mises ixirán de las penas de purgatori e intreràn en la gloria eternal de paradis.²⁰

And know that all those who celebrate these Masses for the souls of Purgatory, as soon as they are celebrated, the souls for whom you have prayed the Masses will leave the torments of Purgatory and enter in the eternal glory of Paradise.

The intercessory powers granted St. Amador captured the popular imagination and gained great devotional currency in Catalan-speaking lands. The thirty-three Masses of the *trentenari*—one for each year of the life of Christ—were recited or sung in plainchant, in all the churches, chapels, and convents of Barcelona, often in accumulations of three, ten or even more cycles throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.

Such eschatological beliefs help to contextualize analysis of the wills of sixteenth-century citizens of Barcelona for their musico-liturgical content. As legal documents, wills are inevitably formulaic and conventional, both in structure and phraseology, and the level of detail in each will often merely reflects how close to death the testator was at the time of the redaction of the will by the notary at his or her deathbed. Nevertheless, legalistic convention was sufficiently flexible to allow the individual citizens of Barcelona the expression of their particular devotions and pious acts and afford a glimpse of the role of music in suffrages for the soul. In the specifics of their funeral ceremonies, anniversaries, and foundations, it is possible to deduce something about the musical experience of a broad section of Barcelona society, from the wife of an apothecary to a canon of the cathedral, or from a vegetable-grower to a wealthy noblewoman.²¹ In order for a testator to stipulate particular musico-liturgical ceremonies, he or she must have been familiar with them—or at the very least been advised by their confessor; in order for him or her to specify

²⁰ Eiximenis Francesc, *Tractat sobre els novíssims* ([Toulouse]: 1486), fols. 48r–50v, at 50v. Cited in Llompert, “Aspectos populares” 274.

²¹ See Vela’s study of apothecaries and candlemakers in fourteenth-century Barcelona based on a reading of their wills: Vela C., *Especiers, candelers a Barcelona a la baixa Edat Mitjana: testament, família i sociabilitat* (Barcelona – Lleida: 2007).

particular musical resources, he or she must have experienced the music of the Church, and listened to polyphonic singing, organ music or a wind band. On rare occasions, particular musical works are specified, reflecting a close knowledge of the polyphonic repertory of the time.

Musical details found in wills can refer to all stages of the ritual of death in a trajectory that involved the different social spheres and urban spaces of the city—private and domestic, public and institutional—and continued through eschatological projection into the afterlife. The dynamic process that constituted the ritual of death is summarized in **Table 12.1**; music accompanied every stage.

TABLE 12.1 *The ritual of death in sixteenth-century Barcelona*

dynamic	time	state	space	ceremony	agent(s)
<i>itinerary</i>	24 hours	body present	domestic and public (streets)	vigil for soul/ funeral cortège	priest(s); confraternities
<i>ceremony</i>	3 or 9 days and yearly (<i>cap d'any</i>)	bier or tomb	institutional (cathedral, church, chapel, monastery, convent)	Funeral: Requiem Masses, Office of the Dead, cycles of Masses (<i>trentenaris</i>)	priests and religious communities
<i>trajectory</i>	perpetuity	soul	eschatological (Purgatory)	foundation of Masses, anniversaries	priests and religious communities

The deathbed and vigil at the home of the deceased involved a complex interplay of devotional rituals to the extent that the home of the deceased became a kind of sound magnet, using sounds of various kinds to signal the start of the ritual of death and draw others to it. Surviving accounts for the expenses of death include payments for bell-ringers alongside those made to apothecaries for medicines, to chandlers for candles, to merchants for black cloth, or for alms to distribute among the poor who gathered at the front door, undoubtedly alerted by the tolling of the bells of the parish church.²² Wills often mention

²² Wills do not always specify bell-ringing since this was clearly a 'given' of the ceremonial of death, at least in the urban context; the tolling of bells ('ab tochs de campana') is often indicated for rural churches.

the specific agents to enact the vigil and organize the funeral cortège, activities widely entrusted to the confraternity to which the deceased belonged.²³ Confraternity statutes from the fourteenth century onwards ordain that his or her fellow-members were honor-bound to assist in the vigil, as well as the processions to and from the deceased's house. Often summoned by a bell, the members of the confraternity, bearing lighted torches, accompanied the Eucharist through the streets. For example, the statutes of the confraternity of tanners, founded in 1406, ordained that all members should go to the house of the deceased and maintain the vigil with lighted candles and constant prayers,²⁴ accompany the body to the church (they usually supplied a cloth, often of gold or rich velvet, to cover the bier) and arrange for the celebration of Masses for the funeral.²⁵

Testators very often left money to their confraternity or confraternities (for they could be a member of more than one) to ensure that their membership was up to date and that they were thus eligible for the funeral service provided, without feeling any need to specify what that involved: it was common knowledge and taken for granted. Testators quite often stipulated the recitation of the penitential psalms in their wills, so that the murmur of priests' voices throughout the vigil formed part of the accepted soundworld of death

²³ In contrast to the situation as regards confraternities and music in early modern Italy, for which there are a number of studies by John Walter Hill, Noel O'Regan, and others, little has been published in Spain, with the exception of Robledo Estaire L., "Música y cofradías madrileñas en el s. XVII: los Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento de la Magdalena y los Esclavos del Santo Cristo de San Ginés", *Revista de Musicología* 29 (2006) 481–520; and idem, "El patronazgo musical de la cofradía del 'Ave María' y la consolidación de la ortodoxia católica en el Madrid del siglo XVII", *Resonancias* 33 (2013) 103–126.

²⁴ In his widely disseminated tract of 1537, Vanegas advised that the priests gathered at the deathbed should recite the penitential psalms, from a book rather than from memory, and the litany. Vanegas Alejo, *Agonía del tránsito de la muerte* (Santiago de Chile: 1948) 51: 'rezarán los otros salmos que provocan al pecador a esperanza y misericordia, como son: Miserere mei Deus, In te Domine speravi, Dominus illuminatio mea, Quemadmodum desiderat cervus, De profundis clamavi; y otros muchos que ellos tendrán a manos, aunque sería mejor rezarlos por libros que no de coro. Demás de los clérigos y los otros circunstantes que le dirán una letanía'.

²⁵ Statutes of the Confraternity of Tanners (1406): 'Item que tot confrare sie tengut e ser pus li sia notificat per aquells qui ordenats hi seran a la sepultura de cascun confrare qui sera passat desta vida e ajut a portar lo cors daquell [...] e esser en aquella sepultura fins quel dit cors sie soterrat [...] Item que tot confrare sie tengut dir aquell dia que algun confrare soterraran cinch pater nosters e set aves marias per anime daquell confrare [...] haien affer dir dins la sglesya de Sent Augusti per anima daquell confrare les xxxiiii misses de Sent Amador dins xxx dies apres aquel cors sera soterrat'. Bofarull y Sans F. de, *Gremios i cofradías de la antigua Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: 1910) II, 162–172.

transposed from the church to the domestic sphere. In more detailed wills the testator specified how many chaplains were to attend the vigil, often the symbolic number of twelve, divided into two antiphonal choirs of six ('que entre ells fassen cor de sis en sis capellans') for the recitation of the Psalter, each chaplain holding a lighted candle. Beneta Pons, widow of the merchant Pau Pons, who had her will redacted on 4 December 1558, clearly described the celebration of the nocturns of Matins for the Dead.²⁶ Having chanted the psalms, the chaplains were to recite several prayers beginning with 'Respicte quesumus super hanc familiam tuam', and at the end of each prayer to perform the absolution with the aspersion of holy water. Beneta Pons insisted in her will on the presence of her confessor at the vigil, and it may have been he who advised her as to the liturgy to be celebrated, although she was very probably familiar with it from attending the ceremony of death on other occasions.

The ritual of the vigil spilled over into the public domain the following day as the funeral cortège processed through the streets of the city from the house of the deceased to the place of burial, whether church, convent or cathedral chapel. Testators would specify the number of pall-bearers and who they were—chaplains, confraternity members, members of the religious orders, the poor from the hospital, orphans from the orphanage—often again with the symbolic number of twelve in total. In June 1523 Jaume Benet Çafont, a beneficed priest at the cathedral, stipulated that twelve fellow priests were to carry his body to the cathedral where they were each to sing a Mass of each of the Apostles, followed by a collect for his soul, although he seems curiously vague as to whether there was an Office for each and added the proviso that, if not, his former colleagues were to celebrate an ordinary Mass and dedicate it to the twelve Apostles.²⁷ The numbers could be far greater: the jerkin-maker (*giponer*) Arnald Gibert, in his will dated 21 October 1531, stipulated forty chaplains to accompany his body, carried by the members of his confraternity, in

²⁶ AHPB Pau Mallol, *Primus liber testamentorum*, 1549–1581 [383/60]: 'Item vull orden y man que encontinent seguida la mort mia los predits marmessors meus fassen posar lo meu cors en terra en la cambra ahont morre y aquella posat haien dotze capellans de bon nom y fama entre los quals vull y sia lo pare confessor meu e que entre ells fassen cor de sis en sis capellans e que diguen per la mia anima tot lo saltiri e a quiscun nocturno fassen sa absolta sobre lo meu cos ab aygua beneyta y que dits capellans tinguen quiscun dells candeles en les mans tant quant tingaran en dir el saltiri'.

²⁷ AHPB Joan Modolell, *Llibre de testaments*, 1517–1530 [289/16]: 'volent y ordonant que dotze preueres beneficiats porten lo meu cors a la Seu e diguen missa dels apostols preuent quiscun dells de aquell apostol que volra dir si offici propri haura e si offici propri no haura que digua de comun e aço al honor dels dotze apostols e leix a quiscun dells per caritat dos sous e que me dien vna collecta per anima mia e de tots faels defuncts'.

addition to the poor from the Hospital of Santa Creu, all carrying lighted candles.²⁸ This funeral cortège must have made an impressive *son-et-lumière* impact as it made its way to the church of Sant Jaume to the tolling of the church bells ('tres tochs campanarum'). Gibert must have been relatively wealthy and prepared to invest a substantial amount in the salvation of his soul: he left a gold ducat to the retable on the retrochoir of the church, and founded an annual Mass to be celebrated on the first Monday of November each year. By contrast, the seriously wealthy often eschewed too grand a display in the funeral cortège, thus demonstrating to the world their piety; in about 1520 the noblewoman Gracia de Peralta, widow of the viceroy of Sicily, wanted her bier, covered in sackcloth, to be carried by twelve poor people to the cathedral where she was to be buried in the tomb of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Conception of the Virgin.²⁹ Funerary processions, preceded by a raised cross and accompanied by lighted candles and torches as the bells of the church tolled and psalms and responsories were sung, were a daily sight in the streets of Barcelona.

The burial service marked the culmination of the earthly trajectory of death and the beginning of the suffrages for the soul of the deceased. Lighted candles to illuminate the soul's path to the afterlife and to keep the demons at bay, as well as music to call on angelic assistance, were specified for the actual burial service and those Masses that were celebrated on the third and/or ninth day as well as the anniversary or *cap d'any*. Several or many Requiem Masses (or *trentenaris* that generally included a certain number of Requiem Masses) were sung on the days after the funeral: testators often specified that the celebration of such accumulated Masses should be completed as soon as possible after death to ensure maximum efficacy. Requiem Masses were also stipulated for the anniversary, not just to mark the completion of the first year of mourning, but every subsequent year in perpetuity through the foundation of an *anniversari*. The anniversary founded by Caterina Mestres, widow of a peasant (*pagès*), in her will dated 17 February 1525, in the church of Santa Maria del Pi, provides a typical example: 'with two intoners, catafalque and a gold cloth placed in the usual place before the Mass of the said anniversary. With four candles burning in front of and behind the catafalque, and following the celebration of the

²⁸ AHPB Joan Savina, *Primus liber testamentorum*, 1506–1547 [285/53].

²⁹ AHPB Miquel Puigsec, *Primus liber testamentorum*, 1504–1525 [282/7], fols. 67r–68v: 'Volent que en la mia sepultura lo meu cors sia aportat de die e no de nit ab creu alsada e que lo meu cors sia cubert de drap burell e sia aportat per dotze pobres e que sia dat a quiscun per Charitat sis diners e que quiscun pobre aport en la ma vna candela ancesa'.

said Mass, the absolution as is customary'.³⁰ This brief description of an anniversary outlines the sung ceremony with which Caterina was clearly quite familiar, even though she mentions two intoners (*entonadors*) rather than the technically correct deacon and subdeacon found in many other wills. She, and presumably the members of her social group who attended her funeral and anniversary, were surely familiar with the texts and chants of the Requiem Mass. Experience of the liturgy of Compline led the cutler (*daguer*) Pere Jorda to want to found the service of 'completes solemnem cantades' on Sundays and major feast days in his parish church of SS. Just i Pastor. In his will of 5 February 1521, he maintained that Compline was not customarily sung ('vuy en die no s canten') in the church, but that he wished it to be sung by twelve resident chaplains, and that the remaining money from his bequest should be spent on ornaments for the service.³¹

Although polyphony was not specified by Jorda, the number of chaplains would certainly have made polyphonic performance—or at least semi-improvised *contrapunto*—possible, and the use of the words 'solemnem cantades' might imply this. Most wills, however, simply stipulate that the Mass or Office they wished to endow was to be sung, and not how, as was also the case with Magdalena Ferran, the widow of a merchant. Her will of 3 August 1546 illustrates the importance of the notion of perpetuity as indicated through her request that the administration of a sung Office of the feast of the Most Holy Conception of the Virgin on that feast day or the day after in the Clarissan convent of Santa Maria de Jerusalem should pass to the abbess after the death of her executors, who included a priest as well as several members of her family.³²

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- ³⁰ AHPB Joan Madolell, Llibre de testaments, 1517–1539 [289/16]: 'segons es acostumat en la dita sglesia celebrar semblants anniversaris; ço es assaber, ab dos entonadors, ab tomba e drap dor posada en lo loch acostumat dauant la missa del dit anniversari, ab quatre ciris cremant deuant e detras la dita tomba. E la dita missa celebrada, fassen absolta segons que es acostumat'.
- ³¹ AHPB Miquel Puigsec, Primus liber testamentorum, 1504–1525 [282/7], fols. 59v–61r: 'distribuesquen dites sis liures quiscun any en fer dir y cantar quiscun diumenge, e altres festes solemnes del any axi com de apostols martyrs y Sanct sebastia, completes solemnem cantades en dita yglesia les quals vuy en die no s canten; les quals completes vull e man sien dites y cantades per dotze capellans conductius excepto vicaris, si nhaura, e feta dita celebracio quiscun any e pagada la caritat a dits preueres per dir y cantar dites completes, tot lo que restara dels dites sis liures sie per dites obres donat quiscun any per amor de deu al Sacrista de la dita Esglesia porque tinguen en bona custodia y guarde lo argent y los ornamentals'.
- ³² AHPB Joan Vilar, Quartus liber testamentorum et codicillorum, 1535–1554 [294/71], fols. 17v–19v: 'Item a lahor y gloria de nostre senyor deu Jesucrist y de la humil verge madona

Magdalena, like many other testators, expressed through her will a special devotion—to the Immaculate Conception—and shows herself to have been familiar with the liturgy pertaining to that feast. She does not specify polyphonic singing, but the nuns of this sizeable and well endowed convent would have had some musical training.³³ The amount of one *lliure* for the celebration of a Requiem Mass or anniversary in a convent seems to have been fairly standard, but sheds no light on the possible involvement of the ‘angelic’ voices of the nuns. The priest Lorenç Tresseres, in his will dated 24 September 1530, specified that the Augustinian nuns of the convent of Santa Maria Magdalena should celebrate a sung Requiem Mass at his funeral, for which he was prepared to invest a total of one *lliure* seven *sous* with twenty *sous* to the prioress, eighteen *diners* to the priest who celebrated Mass, six *diners* to each of the deacon and subdeacon, six *diners* for the sacristan; six *diners* for the bier, two *sous* for four candles and eighteen *diners* for the bell-ringer.³⁴ This breakdown of payment made to convents confirms the male presence of a priest, deacon, and subdeacon as well as monies paid directly to the prioress, sacristan, and bell-ringer.

Indeed, polyphonic music is rarely specified in wills and, when it is, the additional costs incurred in paying professional singers are not necessarily clear from the amount left for the suffrage of the soul. The relatively small number of cases in which the citizens of Barcelona stipulated polyphony (*cant dorga*) confirms that various members of society, including women and, of course, priests, were familiar with it and wanted to include it in the ritual of death that marked their demise and the trajectory of the soul through Purgatory. Angela Margalcio, the widow of a businessman (*negociant*) and daughter of a wainwright (*mestre de axa*), stipulated in her will dated 5 March 1579, that the Office of the Virgin was to be sung in polyphony at her burial in the parish church

sancta Maria y en suffragi de la anima mia y en remissio de mos pecats y defaliments, instituesc y perpetualment en lo monestir de les monges de Jerusalem de la present ciutat hun solmne offici cantat de la conceptio de la mare de deu Comensat en la festa ho al sentdema de la sacratissima conceptio donant y consignant a la Reverend Senyora abadesa e conuent del dit monestir vna liura’.

³³ Both polyphony and organ music were practised in most convents. Paulí Meléndez A., *El Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Jerusalem de Barcelona (1454–1970)* (Barcelona: 1970).

³⁴ AHPB Joan Savina, *Primus liber testamentorum, 1506–1547* [285/53]: ‘Item deyo me sia celebrada vna missa cantada de requiem en lo monastir de la gloriosa sancta Magdalena per les Monges de dit Monastir [...] e tres tochs la hu al vespre que feran los absoltes. E vull que sien fetes dos absoltes, y prech e exorte a mos marmessors sien a dita missa’.

of SS. Just i Pastor, and that the organ was to be played.³⁵ She left 20 *lliures* in total for this polyphonic Office, organ music, and a monthly Mass in the chapel of the Countess's Palace;³⁶ such an amount was common among the better off—though not really wealthy—citizens of Barcelona at this time. Her executors included a merchant and a cotton-trader (*cotoner*), suggesting that she moved in social circles connected with trade. In her will, Angela mentions only the priests ('preveres') of the parish church as agents in the realization of this polyphonic Office, and, frustratingly, specifies only 'the usual amount' ('sie donada la caritat acostumada') which offers little insight into whether she was paying extra for polyphony, though the wording suggests that polyphony was not considered unusual. This suffrage may reflect the re-organization of the music at SS. Just i Pastor in 1578, when the position of chapelmaster seems to have been renewed or subjected to new regulation.³⁷ Among the duties of the chapelmaster was the recruitment of singers, if there were none available at the church, to sing certain feasts in polyphony.³⁸ Another well-to-do lady, Alvira Lofre y Tamarrona, wife of a merchant from Perpignan, who drew up her will on 28 August 1585, also stipulated polyphony and organ at the three days during which her body was placed in the Carmelite church, as well as new candles (not those used—and obviously re-used—by the confraternity or the monastery).³⁹ On each of the three days she wanted a sung Marian Office—the

35 AHPB Salvador Coll, Plec de testaments 1576–1582 [475/49]: 'vull que essent morta ço es en lo die que sera soterrat lo meu cors sie celebrat per la anima mia vn offici cantat de nostra señora en la dita yglesia de sanct just y sanct pastor per los preueres de dita yglesia lo qual offici vull sia fet solemne a cant de orga en lo altar maior ab diacha e sotsdiacha y orga per la celebracio de lo qual offici sie donada la caritat acostumada'.

36 The chapel of the palace of the Requesens family was an important center for musical activity: see Rife i Santaló J., "La música al Palau de la Comtessa de Barcelona durant el govern de l'Arxiduc Carles d'Àustria a Catalunya (1705–1714)", *Revista Catalana de Musicología* 2 (2004) 131–143, and Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita, "The Contribution of the Requesens Noblewomen to the Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Barcelona through the Palau de la Comtessa", forthcoming.

37 Pavia i Simó J., "La música a la parròquia de Sant Just i Sant Pastor de Barcelona, durante el segle XVII" *Anuario Musical* 48 (1993), 103–151, at 110–112.

38 Ibid. iii: 'Es obligació del mestre cercar cantors, si no n'hi haurà de l'església, per a cantar a cant d'orgue en determinades festivitats'.

39 AHPB Salvador Coll, Plec de testaments 1583–1586 [475/50]: 'ab lluminaria de cera blanca lo qual vulle se compe de nou y no que seruexi la de la confraria o del monestir, la qual vull crème tots los tres dies ab offici que cada dia se ha de fer los tres dies [...] y ha de fer lo primer dia de la conceptio de nostra senyora lo segon de la nativitat de nostra señora lo tercer de la assumptio de nostra señora ap [sic] orguens y a cant de orgue y cada dia de aquests tres vull se diguen unes matines de nostra señora y per asso dexe vj liures'. The Carmelite church was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and from 1593

first day of the Immaculate Conception, on the second of the Nativity of the Virgin, and on the third of the Assumption—‘with organ and polyphony and on each of the three days I want Matins of Our Lady to be celebrated’. Alvira’s Marian devotions were supplemented by an unusually fulsome invocation at the beginning of her will: ‘I commend my spirit to the Creator [...] by whose mercy may He be served to place my soul in the company of the courtiers and saints and blessed [of Heaven], asking that my guardian angel, and the glorious St. John the Baptist, do not leave it unprotected until it may enjoy eternal glory’.⁴⁰ The destiny of the soul in perpetuity was thus associated in her mind with the music that formed part of the liturgy, and she clearly hoped that the angels and saints in Heaven would be listening. Alvira invested six *lliures* in these three polyphonic Masses with organ, substantially more than the one *sou* for a single Mass, either chanted or said. Not all the women who wanted polyphonic Masses were wealthy: Eulalia Dorrius, widow of the *corredor de orella* (auctioneer) Esteve Dorrius and daughter of a peasant, stipulated in her will dated 29 February 1558, that her funeral ceremony should comprise the ‘sung Office of the Virgin the first day, the second day of St. Michael, and the third of St. Gabriel’.⁴¹ While she does not specify a monetary amount for these Masses, the association in her mind between angels and music is nevertheless clear.

These women who drew up their wills in the second half of the sixteenth century were clearly familiar with the celebration of the Office and the Mass with polyphony and made provision for it as part of the suffrages for their respective souls. However, and perhaps not surprisingly, it is the wills of members of the clergy that display the most detailed knowledge of musico-liturgical practice. Hieronym Leopard, beneficed priest at the cathedral and Bachelor in Law, who drew up his will on 1 May 1529, was quite specific as regards his burial. He wanted his body to be carried by his colleagues to the cathedral and the burial service to be celebrated ‘de capitol’, at which ‘the Requiem Masses of the Visitation of the Virgin were to be solemnly celebrated with singers and

the confraternity of musicians (instrumentalists) was based there; see Bofarull y Sans, *Gremios i cofradías II*, 373–395.

- ⁴⁰ AHPB 475/50: ‘encomanar ma anima al creedor [...] que per sa misericordia sie seruit posarla en companya dels cortesans y sancts y gloriosos suplicant al meu Angel de guarda, y al glorios sanct Joan Baptista, no la desempre fins a gozar de aquella gloria eterna’.
- ⁴¹ AHPB Jeroni Honorat Enric, Plec de testaments 1550–1562 [388/2]: ‘la qual [sepultura] vull sie feta ab offici cantat de la mare de deu ab lo primer y lo segon de sanct Michel y lo terç de sanct Gabriel ab cantors’.

organ'.⁴² The singers (number unspecified) were to be brought in to perform polyphony and to be paid six *diners* extra, and the organist two *sous*. Overall, Hieronym Leopard invested fifty *lliures* in the ceremony of death, and even though this included, as was the custom, nine *sous* (or one *morabatí*) to the bishop, five *sous* to each of his executors, and a total of fourteen *lliures* to his three servants, this was a substantial sum. Leopard did not, however, die in 1529, but made a second will in March 1537, by which time he was also a royal chaplain. While his funeral instructions were essentially the same, he did add the celebration of three hundred Requiem Masses in three different ecclesiastical institutions: the parish church of Sant Jaume, the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in the same church, where his nephew was a beneficed priest, and the Clarissan Monastery of Jerusalem. For each one of these Masses he left the customary *sou*, suggesting they were said or possibly intoned in plainchant by a single priest, probably his nephew.

The will (dated 3 March 1558) of Antic Gispert, a beneficed priest in the cathedral, specified the involvement of the cathedral musicians.⁴³ Son of a wool-carder from Corsá in the see of Girona, Gispert's choice of executors (as was often the case) reflected both his origins (including a member of his family), his acquired status, and his interest in music: Latzer Frasquet, *domer* (sacristan) of the parish church of Castelló d'Empúries; his younger brother Baldiri Oliver; Luis Volta and Pere Mas, beneficed priests in the cathedral; and Pere Alberch Vila, cathedral organist. Gispert explains why he made his will: 'like everyone in this present and wretched life having to pay the debt of bodily death common to all, fearing its terrible transit [Purgatory] and not knowing the hour and to leave my conscience clear through authentic and genuine sentiment I wish to draw up my last will and testament'.⁴⁴ The musico-liturgical program Gispert wanted to mark his passing included sung Marian Masses on the three days of his body being present in the cathedral, the first to be dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, the second to the Nativity, and the third

⁴² AHPB Pere Celitons, Plec de testaments 1513–1533 [304/23]: 'Volens etiam et ordenans qua missa que celebratur In dicte Capitulo pro anima mea stent alie misse In dicte Capitulo celebrantur et solite sunt celebrari de Requiem celebreor et celebrarum habent de solemnitate visitationis virginis Marie ad Elizabet cum organo et Cantoribus. Et cuilibet ipsorum Cantorum Vltre distributionem solitem dari [...] volo sex dineres pulsatori ipsorum Organorum duos solidos'.

⁴³ AHPB Francesc Mulnell, Primus liber testamentorum, 1538–1558 [349/49], fols. 121r–123v.

⁴⁴ Ibid.: 'Com quiscun en esta present y misera vida sia tingut pagar lo deute de la mort corporal y tan comuna yo tement lo terrible transit de aquella y no sabent la hora y per descarrech de ma consciencia ab mon natural y verdader sentiment vull ordenar mon testament y voluntat [...]'.

to the Assumption, and he also specified the commemorations to be made at each, together with the absolution.⁴⁵ He asked his executor Pere Alberch Vila, a composer of some distinction, to choose twelve singers, to each of whom he wished to pay one *sou* for each of the three days, and he specified that the chapelmaster should be paid eighteen *diners* and the organist one *real*.⁴⁶ Gispert's use of Latin terms to refer to the different services and liturgical texts, and the specificity of the musical resources demonstrates his inside knowledge of musico-liturgical practice. Intriguingly, he also left his viols and music books to Pere Alberch Vila to sell on his behalf.⁴⁷ There can be no doubt that Gispert was himself an accomplished musician who valued music so highly that he wished to invest a considerable sum for the musical component of the ceremony of death that would bring salvation for his soul. Polyphony was undoubtedly performed by the cathedral singers during the three days of Gispert's funeral ceremonies, but there is no knowing what actual pieces might have been sung or played on the organ. However, when Andreu Vilanova, chapelmaster of Vic Cathedral, fell ill while he was resident in Barcelona in 1557 and drew up his will on 4 October, he stipulated the precise polyphonic works he wished to have performed at his funeral: Morales's five-voice Requiem Mass and Jachet of Mantua's five-voice motet *Aspice Domine*.⁴⁸ This level of detail is very rare; it reflects Vilanova's professional status and a personal desire to have certain polyphonic works performed at his funeral. In fact, he recovered from his illness, and became assistant chapelmaster to Joan Burgunyó at Barcelona Cathedral for several decades. He also seems to have been involved as a singer of the parish church of Sant Miquel, the choir of which was given permission

45 Ibid.: 'y la del cos present la missa sie de la concepcio de virgine maria y la segona commemoracio "Inclina" y la tercera dels reys la absolutio com se acostuma. Lo segon dia sia de nativitat de la verge maria y tercera commemoracio sia de sanct Johan baptiste. Lo terç dia sia de la assumpcion y tercera commemorasio de nomine Jesu'.

46 Ibid.: 'Lo mestre tinga carrech de elegir dotze cantors y sie donat per mos ministradors vn sou a cada cantor cada dia y a dit mestre diuyt diners y al organista hun real'.

47 Ibid.: 'Vull de les violes de arch y libres de musica particularmente tinga carrech de vendre Mº Pere vila alias alberch'.

48 Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada, Vic, Salvo Beulo, Liber testamentorum, 1540–1565, s.f.: 'Item per salut y repos de la anima mia vull y man sie celebrat per anima mia lo die de ma sepultura en dita sglesia hun trentenari de misses resades la dia de sent amador, y les set misses de repos. E mes vull y man que la missa alta de requiem qui s celebrara lo die de la mia sepultura sie cantada a cant d'orgue y que sia una missa de Morales que es a sinch de requiem y hun motet de Jaquet que.s diu aspice domine a sinch'. Cited in Gregori i Cifré J.M., "La música del Renaixement a la Catedral de Barcelona, 1450–1580", 2 vols., Ph.D. diss. (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona: 1986) I, 128–129.

to sing polyphony at the Augustinian monastery in June 1574.⁴⁹ Such snippets of information raise interesting questions about the circulation of polyphonic repertory in Barcelona in the mid-sixteenth century, as well as the presence and contracting out of polyphonic singers to different churches in the city.⁵⁰

The playing of the organ during funerals and anniversaries was often stipulated in Barcelona wills, though the music the organist was to play is never specified. A typical example is that of the royal notary Magí Folch, son of Anthony Folch, also a royal notary, who had his will redacted on 11 April 1578. He wished to be buried in the parish church of Sant Miquel in a grave in front of the chapel of St. Jerome, which was to be marked by the engraving of a fleur-de-lis. He stipulated that over fifty Masses should be celebrated in different ecclesiastical institutions, as well as an Office of the Most Holy Conception of the Virgin with organ at the main altar of the church of the Carmelite monastery.⁵¹ Eufrasina, wife of the merchant Joan Puigfaver, in her will dated 3 May 1537, specified a sung Requiem Mass with organ to be celebrated in the chapel of the Conception of the Virgin Mary in the cathedral cloisters, in which she invested the substantial amount of five *lliures*.⁵² Occasionally, testamentary legacies included contributions towards the repair or building of an organ. Magdalena Ursula Torredemar, daughter of the merchant Francesc Cesoliueres, in her will of 1543, made several bequests to her parish church of Sant Miquel, including five *lliures* towards the construction of an organ.⁵³ As part of a much larger project, the nobleman don Gispert de Guimera, lord of Castellvíla and the *terme* of Ciutadilla in the archiepiscopal see of Tarragona, made a number of provisions in his will, dated 8 March 1581, for the Dominican monastery he had founded in Ciutadilla, including the construction of an organ in the church.⁵⁴

While the sound of the organ was clearly much appreciated by testators who were largely, though not exclusively, members of the nobility or the

49 Gregori i Cifré, *La música del Renaixement* 1, 130.

50 These issues will be discussed in my forthcoming monograph *Daily Musical Experience in Early Modern Barcelona*.

51 AHPB Pere Fitor mayor, Secundus liber testamentorum, 1556–1588 [385/79]: ‘mes vull y man que sie dit y celebrat vn offici de Concepcion ab orgue en lo altar maior de nostra señora del carme de la present ciutat y que per tot sie donada la caritat justa y acostumada’.

52 AHPB Gaspar Safranquesa, Plec de testaments, 1505–1547 [281/29]: ‘De quibus [quinque libras] volo que celebretur missa alta de requiem cum organo in capella beate marie de concepcion instituta in dictis claustris’.

53 AHPB Pau Renard, Secundus liber testamentorum, 1530–1557 [316/97]: ‘Item deix a la obra de dita sglesia de sanct Michel per adjutori del orgue fahedor sinch liures’.

54 AHPB Pere Fitor mayor, Secundus liber testamentorum, 1556–1588 [385/79]: ‘[...] mes vn orgue pera dita sglesia’.

merchant and professional classes, other instruments were very rarely stipulated. The noblewoman Ángela de Sorribes y Aparissi, whose will was drawn up on 2 June 1573, invested a good deal in the salvation of her soul, and a substantial part of that investment involved music.⁵⁵ Her husband, the nobleman Hieronym Galceran Serapio de Sorribes, was a conspicuous cultural patron in the city who in 1565 had borne the printing costs of the collection of Catalan verse—including madrigal and song texts—published by the painter and musician Pere Serafi.⁵⁶ One of Serafi's acrostic sonnets is dedicated to Ángela, and she must have participated in the literary and musical gatherings held in the houses of the Barcelona nobility.⁵⁷ Ángela de Sorribes demanded burial in the Chapel of the Assumption founded by her brother-in-law in the church of the Benedictine convent of Sant Pere de les Puelles, and she instructed that the Masses that formed part of her ceremony of death—at her funeral, the third day, and the anniversary—were to be dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, and performed ‘solemnly with organ’ ('solempnament ab orgue').⁵⁸ Also in that church, she wished to found a daily Mass: on Fridays a Mass of the Name of Jesus, a Lady Mass on Saturdays, and a ferial Mass for the remainder of the week. However, her most substantial investment for the salvation of her soul was in four sung Offices to be celebrated annually in the church of the Monastery de la Mare de Déu dels Àngels belonging to the third order of Dominican nuns.⁵⁹ The four sung Offices were to be dedicated respectively to

55 AHPB Pere Talavera, *Llibre de testaments*, 1561–1576 [359/33], fols. 17v–21r.

56 Serafi Pere, *Llibre de poesía catalana* [Barcelona: 1565], ed. B. Gómez Montorio (Barcelona: 1993). The notarial contract of 16 July 1565 between the nobleman and the merchant Francesc Creus mentioned three books—‘ço es de l'Art poetica, dirigida al Rei [Philip II], i de la Silva de diverses obres de poesia e altre libre de obres catalanes’. Only the volume of Catalan poetry is known to have been printed.

57 Romeu Figueras J., “Poemes en castellà atribuïbles a Pere Serafi”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 36 (1975–1976) 133–201.

58 AHPB 359/33, fols. 17v–21r: ‘Vull que de la dita mia sepultura y del dia de les misses del terç die y capdany dites misses sien celebraades de la assumptio de nostra señora an commemoratio de nomine Jesu molt solempnament ab orgue’.

59 Ibid.: ‘Item mes a la honra y gloria de nostre senyor Deu Jesuchrist y en suffragi de la mia anima y dels meus Instituesch y perpetualment funde quatre officis perpetualment diadores e celebradores en la sglesia del Monastir de les monjes de la Verge Maria dels Angells del peu de la creu de la present ciutat de Barcelona la hu dels sea celebrat a honor y gloria de la gloriosa Sancta Anna quiscun any lo dia o festa de sancta Anna [...] la qual vull esser celebrat en lo altar maior de dita sglesia cantat ab molt solemnitat ab so de orgue y ab so de ministriis y en lo qual offici vull aian hun bon predicador lo qual haia de predicar a mig offici laltre offici vull esser celebrat a honor y gloria del glorios sanct francesch e lo mateix dia de sanct francesch [...] lo qual vull esser celebrat en lo altar maior

St. Anne, St. Francis, St. Serapion (after her husband), and Our Lady of Hope. At each she instructed that the Office was to be solemnly sung at the main altar, with organ and wind-players, and the sermon was to be delivered by a renowned preacher. She invested 160 *lliures* to yield eight *lliures* per annum, with seven of those *lliures* being used to meet the costs of celebrating the four Offices, including the extra expense of the wind-players and preachers.⁶⁰ The remaining twenty *sous* was to go in perpetuity to the prioress of the monastery and the administrators of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Name of Jesus based in the church. The wind-players possibly took part in processions on at least the first of the four feast days, but how many and who they were—let alone what they played—is not known.

Nevertheless, it is clear that in this case the wealth of a cultured noble-woman enabled the patronage of musicians beyond the musical resources of the ecclesiastical institution itself in order to realize the trajectory of death through suffrages that would help speed her soul through Purgatory. Ángela de Sorribes's own musical experience and interests are reflected in her investment in sung Masses and Offices, organ music and a wind-band, which she presumably felt was appropriate to her status in the city of Barcelona. She clearly wished to draw attention to her spiritual investment, both in the monastery church and outside in the street, if the instrumentalists performed in processions. Presumably her husband and other members of her family, from whom her executors (including Joan de Sorribes, a beneficed priest at Sant Pere de les Puelles) were present, together with the nuns and priests of the convent,

de dita sglesia cantat ab molt solemnitat ab so de orgue y en lo qual offici vull aian hu predicator qui aia de predicar a mig offici Laltre offici vull esser celebrat a honor y gloria del glorios sanct cerapio e lo mateix dia de la festa de sanct cerapio se celebra quiscun any a tretze dies del mes de nouembre [...] lo qual vull esser celebrat en lo altar maior de dita sglesia de nostra señora dels angells cantat ab molta solemnitat ab so de orgue y en lo qual offici vull aian hun bon predicator qui aia de predicar a mig offici E laltre offici vull esser celebrat a honor y gloria de la mare de deu de speransa y lo mateix dia se celebra quiscun any dita festa [...] lo qual vull esser celebrat en lo altar maior de dita sglesia de nostra senyora dels angels cantat ab molta solemnitat ab so de orgue y en lo qual offici vull aian hu bon predicator qui aie de predicar a mig offici dels quals officis vull esser administradors perpetualment lo molt Reverenda señora priora del dit monastir de la verge maria dels Angels y los maiorals de la confraria del sanctissim nom de Jesus en la sglesia del dit Monastir fundada qui ara son y per temps seran'.

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 'en preu de les quals haian de donar e pagar quiscun any per la caritat dels dits quatre officis y quatre sermons y per lo que costaren los ministrils set liures y los restants vint sous dita Reverenda señora Priora y maiorals vers [sic] si se pugan y aian de retenir per lurs treballs supportaran per la dita administracio'.

to listen to these ceremonies. The attention of passers-by would have been attracted not only by the tolling of bells but also by the sound of the wind-band.

The realization of the testator's wishes and the attendance of certain people at the ceremonies he or she endowed were presumably concerns shared by many, though relatively rarely voiced explicitly in their wills. The priest Lorenç Tresseres requested that the bell of the Augustinian convent be rung at Vespers, Matins, and during the absolutions following the celebration of his Requiem Mass, and that his executors, who included two high-ranking clergymen, a shoemaker, and his cousin, the wife of a wool-carder, should be present.⁶¹ For Tresseres's foundation of a votive Mass to be celebrated on the feast of St. Martin, preceded by Vespers, in the parish church of Santa Maria del Pi where he was to be buried, he specified not only the ringing of the bells by the altar boys but also the playing of the organ at seven o' clock in the morning Mass.⁶² Quite possibly this early morning ceremony was attended only by the clergy, organist, and altar boys of the church where he served, but presumably he hoped that St. Martin would also listen in and intercede on behalf of his soul. Once again the tolling of the bells signalled the celebration of such services and attracted parishioners and passers-by to enter the church to pray for his soul. The priest Jaume Benet Çafont was not content to rely on the bells as a reminder and stipulated in his will, dated 22 June 1523, that the day before the sung anniversary he had founded in Barcelona Cathedral, the altar boy of the chapel of St. Severus should go to the house of his father's heir to remind him to attend.⁶³ The expectation of testators was surely that at least their executors, immediate family members, and presiding clergy—as well as their divine

61 AHPB 285/53: 'alla qui ha carrech de tocar la campana divuit sous de tres tochs la hu al vespre y laltro de mati apres matines laltra com sera dita la missa mentre que faran los absoltes. E vull que sien fetes dos absoltes y prech e exorte a mos marmessors sien a dita missa'.

62 Ibid.: 'E que dit clero e comunitat del pi hagen de fer e celebrar vna missa cantada en la capella de sant marti lo jorn de sant marti a les sed [sic] hores. E que apres de la missa sia feta vna absolta sobre lo vas dels capellans e vull que dels susdits dotze sous ne sia donat hun sou al reuerent rector de dita sglesia per sos drets e als scolans per a tocar al vespre de dita festa ço es del glorios sant marti a vigilia sis diners e el preure que dira missa vn sou per caritat e al orgue qui sonara a dita missa matinal vn sou e als scolans per lo manjar sis diners'.

63 AHPB Joan Modolell, Llibre de testaments, 1517–1530 [289/16]: 'Leix als administadors de la dita Capella de sanct Seuer en la dita seu qui lauors lo die de mon obit e per auant seran volent que los dits administadors haian de denunciar o fer denunciar per lo scola de la dita capella lo die abans de la celebracio de dit anniuersari a la casa del hereu de mon pare la dita celebracio'.

intercessors—would listen to the musico-liturgical ceremonies they financed and participate in the ceremonies and intercessionary prayers that would help secure a safe passage through Purgatory.

Much research remains to be done, not least as regards the ‘host’ institutions that benefited from the investment of such considerable sums of money in the celebration of Masses and anniversaries.⁶⁴ The wishes of testators were not always observed, whether by their heirs or by the churches themselves. The abundance of anniversaries, Masses, and Offices created logistical problems that frustrated many testamentary demands—even in the best intentioned of churches—and this situation was addressed by the Council of Trent. Tensions of various kinds arose as the result of pious bequests—within families, between heirs and ecclesiastical institutions, and between personal belief and social convention. Some testators—often, but not always, wealthy members of the urban elite—stipulated that their funeral be marked with little or no ceremony (*‘sens pompa mundana alguna sino a tota salud de la anima mia’*) as an expression of their piety, but this also quite often came down to not having as many torches for the funeral cortège to which their status entitled them, and they often invested very substantial amounts in founding Masses and benefices. Others do genuinely seem to have felt that even a modest element of ceremonial was too ‘worldly’, and thus eschewed impressive processions and music, preferring ‘misses baixes’ or said (rather than sung) Masses; these are increasingly specified in wills in the decades after the Council of Trent. The clergy, too, were mixed in their response to the ceremonial of death from which their institution might benefit financially but which, particularly in the case of the religious orders, might run counter to their own practices and regulations. In the more urgent spirit of reform that followed the Council of Trent, restrictions on and revisions of many aspects of the ritual of death gradually became widespread, although it was not until well into the seventeenth century that the traditional *trentenaris* of St. Amador began to disappear.

Sixteenth-century wills from Barcelona have raised a number of issues concerning the musical experience of its citizens. The sheer density of musical

64 Studies on music’s role in anniversaries and foundations with regard to the Iberian Peninsula are few at present, but see: Ruiz Jiménez J., “Música tras la muerte: dotaciones privadas y espacios rituales en la catedral de Sevilla (siglos XIII–XVI)”, *Revista de Musicología* 37, 1 (2014) 54–87; and Knighton T., “Marian Devotions in Early Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Case of the Bishop of Palencia, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (1451–1524)”, in Filocamo G. – Bloxam M.J. – Holford-Strevens L. (eds.), *‘Uno gentile et subtile ingenio’: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie Blackburn* (Turnhout: 2009) 137–146.

activity generated by the ritual of death and the eschatological meaning it held for those who invested so heavily in pious devotions is clear. In addition to the tolling of bells, the soundworld of the ceremony of death involved Masses and Offices sung in plainchant and many involved the sound of the organ; in some instances polyphony was also heard. It must be noted, however, that wills cannot offer a firm statistical basis. Although many wills survive, many do not, and of those that survive a fair percentage have been rendered illegible by water damage or ink oxidization. In addition, a substantial minority of testators delegated all decisions to their executors, whether because they trusted in them to realize their wishes, or simply because a grave illness or imminent death precluded any alternative.

Nevertheless, close reading of wills, together with related iconography and writings such as devotional tracts, reveals that music was viewed as an integral part of the ritual of death, and this opens up many questions about the availability and circulation of musicians and musical repertory, the importance of the parish and monastery churches, with their chapels and confraternities, and popular devotions such as cycles of Masses, as well as the specific liturgies such as that of the Immaculate Conception, clearly associated in the minds of the testators of Barcelona with singing and organ music. The clergy were generally the most specific about their musico-liturgical requirements, followed by merchants and the professional classes, yet tradespeople of all kinds, and even those who worked the land or the sea, also stipulated a variety of Masses, Offices, and anniversaries that involved music. Women feature prominently in this context—wills were one of the few outlets through which they could express their wishes in the sixteenth century; their prominence suggests a relatively high level of experience in musico-liturgical matters, as listeners rather than performers. At the very least the chant melodies of the Requiem Mass, Office for the Dead, litanies, and other services stipulated in wills must have been familiar to the vast majority of citizens in early modern Barcelona, as were the sounds of the bells and organ that marked the solemn itinerary of death, reminding all listeners of the necessary trajectory of the soul through Purgatory before they might hear harmonies of a celestial kind.

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'Per cagion della musica tutte le strade erano piene': Roles Played by Music in Articulating the Place of Confraternities in Early Modern Roman Society

Noel O'Regan

The quotation in the title comes from a description by the Jesuit Rafael Riera of a great Jubilee Year procession undertaken around the four major Roman basilicas on 6 December 1575 by the Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento, based in the basilica of S. Pietro in Vaticano.¹ It was one of the last confraternities in that Holy Year to hold the procession and theirs was reputedly attended by 100,000 people (including visiting pilgrims), with 6,000 coaches for the disabled. The full description includes the following:

Quanto a gli ornamenti ed apparati, erano così eccellenti, che si poteva dire ch'ivi fussero congregate tutte le ricchezze di Roma, e per cagion della musica tutte le strade erano piene, perché fino alle donne stesse di mediocre condizione andavano adunate insieme cantando le letanie del Signore e della Madonna; il che, mescolato con la musica armoniosa delle Capelle diverse, che andavano ne i loro varii ordini, poneva nei cuori di tante migliaia di auditori una divozione inestimabile.

As regards the ornaments and floats, they were most excellent so that one could say that there were gathered all the riches of Rome and, because of the music, all the streets were full with even the women of poor condition joining in. They processed all together singing the Litanies of Our Lord and of Mary; the mixing of this with the harmonious [polyphonic] music of the various *cappelle* who went in their assorted ranks, raised in the hearts of the many thousands of listeners an inestimable devotion.²

¹ Riera Rafael, *Historia utilissima, et dilettevolissima delle cose memorabili passate nell' alma città di Roma l'anno del gran giubileo MDLXXV* (Macerata, S. Martellini: 1580) 177.

² This and subsequent translations are by the author. In quotations from archival documents original spelling is retained but abbreviated words are written out in full.

Riera describes similar processions by many other Roman confraternities during that Holy Year and mentions the use of music for many of them. Only in the case of SS. Sacramento in S. Pietro, however, does he make a direct connection between the music and the presence of large crowds on the streets, drawn from all classes in society. His description confirms the usual practice in such processions of having a number of groups providing music in the broader sense of the word, from polyphony (*musica*) through *falsobordone* to the simpler chanting of litanies, led by clerics and friars from various religious houses. Riera mentions the presence of different choirs singing polyphony, among whom would certainly have been the Cappella Giulia, based in the basilica and led by its *maestro di cappella*, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Further groups of singers could have come from other basilicas or churches with regular choirs. Riera's book was a propaganda exercise, aimed at showing the world the religious fervor of Rome during the 1575 jubilee in order to counter Protestant propaganda, but there is no reason not to take his descriptions at face value.

Nearly seventy years later a similar reference to music's ability to attract large crowds was made in the *libro de decreti* of another Roman confraternity, that of S. Giovanni Decollato, describing its patronal feast day on 29 August 1643:

Riuscì la festa bellissima, e piena di quadri di molto valore [...] e con concorso straordinario in particolare per la musica sendo stato della migliore che nella nostra chiesa si sia sentita da alcuni anni [...] furono alla festa molti eminentissimi e fra gli altri [...] l'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinale Barberino al quale, e agli altri, fu dato il solito mazzetto di fiori.³

The feast day was a beautiful success, and full of paintings of much value [...] and with an extraordinary crowd of people, particularly for the music which was the best which has been heard in our church for some years [...] There were many cardinals at the feast day and among others [...] his Eminence Cardinal [Francesco] Barberini to whom, and to the others, the usual bunches of flowers were given.

This quotation is significant because it comes from the archives of a confraternity that generally restricted its use of polyphony to the annual celebration of its patronal feast day. Unlike Blessed Sacrament and other major devotional confraternities, where public display was part of their *raison d'être*, S. Giovanni

³ Rome, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Arciconfraternita di S. Giovanni Decollato, 9/19, Giornale del Provveditore 1639–1643, fol. 330r.

Decollato kept a relatively low public profile, associated with its role as comforter of those condemned to death by execution.⁴ It did make use of music—just not polyphony—cultivating a strong tradition of singing and chanting among its members at its weekly meetings and other activities. For instance on Ash Wednesday 1565, the following is recorded:

Fu il giorno primo di quaresima, fu tornata, si dissero li sette salmo con le veste secondo il solito, di poi el nostro cappellano fece la benedictione delle cenere et le dette a ciaschuno de fratelli, di poi essendo in ordine si andò a processione cantando a Santa Sabina dove arrivati che fumo pigliamo tutti la statione et udimo la messa dal nostro cappellano, dopo la quale ce ne tornamo processionalmente cantando alla nostra chiesa dove il detto nostro cappellano fece la confessione secondo il solito.⁵

It was the first day of Lent and a meeting was held at which the seven [penitential] psalms were said, dressed in habits as usual. Afterwards our chaplain blessed the ashes and distributed them to each of the brothers. After that, we went in procession, in order and singing, to S. Sabina where, having arrived, we all obtained the station [indulgence] and heard Mass said by our chaplain, after which we returned singing to our church, where our chaplain heard confessions as usual.

The two earlier quotations illustrate one of the prime motivations for including polyphonic music in confraternity celebrations: its attractive effect, both for the members and for the general public whose attendance added luster, and financial support. The quotation from the *decreti* of S. Giovanni Decollato also mentions paintings and the presence of cardinals. In addition, music helped to instill devotion in those who heard it; this applied to both confraternity members and onlookers. In another of his descriptions from 1575, this time of the procession held by the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, Riera stressed the importance of singing for increasing devotion:

La Domenica seguente la Compagnia della Morte tutta rivestita di negro con i loro parati mescolati di ossa e teste di morti, congiunta con quelle altre compagnie della città e molti popoli forestieri [...] entrò in una

⁴ Maroni Lumbroso M. – Martini A., *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* (Rome: 1963) 168–172.

⁵ Rome, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Arciconfraternita di S. Giovanni Decollato, 2/4, Giornale del Provvidore 1556–1565, fol. 314r.

processione solenne, essendosi bene a proposito congiunte le congregazioni di Foligno, e tutte insieme giunte a Santa Maria Maggiore mescolandosi i lor cantori con la cappella di questa gran chiesa cantarono a dui cori salmi ed inni, tanto dolcemente che l'innumerabil popolo riempiendo quel gran tempio mandava fuori lagrime in grandissima abundanza e divozione.⁶

The following Sunday [the Sunday after the feast of St. Martin on 11 November] the Compagnia della Morte, all dressed in black with their badges depicting the skull and crossbones, together with others of the city's companies and many foreigners [...] took part in a solemn procession, to which was joined the groups of pilgrims from Foligno, and all together reached S. Maria Maggiore, mixing their own singers with the *cappella* of that great church, singing psalms and hymns in two choirs so sweetly that the huge crowd filling that great church shed tears in the greatest abundance and with devotion.

Other motivations for using music in the broadest sense included: glorifying the institution, building community among the members, and aiding the memorizing of standard prayers and liturgical items. For many confraternities, particularly those formed for trades and professions, those for smaller foreign nationalities, and many of the lesser devotional confraternities, expenditure on polyphonic music was confined to one or maybe two patronal feast days a year. For major devotional confraternities like the Gonfalone, SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello or SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, on the other hand, the year was punctuated with feast days, processions and other occasions for music, both polyphony and monophony.⁷ The major confraternities for foreign nationals, like SS. Resurrezione degli Spagnoli or S. Maria dell'Anima dei Tedeschi, also made widespread use of music of all kinds in promoting the interests of their immigrant communities and of the states from which they came.⁸

6 Riera, *Historia* 164.

7 O'Regan N., "Music at Roman Confraternities to 1650: The Current State of Research", in Engelhardt M. (ed.), *Musikstadt Rom: Geschichte – Forschung – Perspektiven*, Analecta Musicologica 45 (Rome: 2011) 132–158; idem, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome* (London: 1995).

8 Pietschmann K., "Musikpflege im Dienste nationaler Repräsentation: Musiker an S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Rome bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Studi Musicali* 31 (2002) 109–144; O'Regan N., "Tomás Luis de Victoria, Francisco de Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome", *Early Music* 22, 2 (1994) 279–295; Luisi F., "S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli e la Festa della Resurrezione in Piazza Navona", in Mischiati O. – Russo P. (eds.), *La Cappella*

Patronal feast day celebrations occasioned some of the most significant displays by Roman confraternities, when they were *en fête* and on show. They were at least a two-day affair, including first and second Vespers and solemn high Mass, as well as one or more processions. After the reorganization of the Forty Hours devotion on a continuous, city-wide basis by Pope Clement VIII in 1592, this devotion often coincided with, or followed immediately upon, the patronal feast at confraternity churches.⁹ Such celebrations served an important function in the city's wider geography of devotion.¹⁰ Polyphonic music was provided by the confraternity's own musicians (where such were employed), by singers and instrumentalists hired in for the purpose from one of the regular choirs in the city, by freelance musicians—or by a combination of these. The sheer number of confraternities and other churches in the city meant that there was a continuous round of such feasts, with musicians and *festaroli*, who provided festoons and greenery, moving from church to church. As another Jesuit propagandist, the English Gregory Martin, wrote in 1581:

It is the most blessed variety in the world, where a man may go to so many Churches in one day, chose where he will, so heavenly served, with such music, such voices, such instruments, all full of gravity and majesty, all moving to devotion and ravishing a man's heart to the meditation of melody of angels and saints in heaven.¹¹

Such celebrations helped keep alive the city's innumerable cults and, in the post-Tridentine Church, reinforced the mediating role of saints and the Blessed Virgin. Confraternity statutes regularly use the term 'nostro avvocato' when describing the cult of their patron saint.¹² Music played an important part in helping individual confraternities claim their place in the ritual life of the city.

musicale nell'Italia della Controriforma: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi nel IV centenario di fondazione della Cappella musicale di S. Biagio di Cento, Cento, 13–15 ottobre 1989 (Florence: 1993) 75–103; Heyink R., *Fest und Musik als Mittel kaiserlicher Machtpolitik: Das Haus Habsburg und die deutsche nationalkirche in Rom S. Maria dell'Anima* (Tutzing: 2010).

⁹ Weill M.S., "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) 218–248.

¹⁰ Visceglia M.A., *La città rituale: Roma e le sue ceremonie in età moderna* (Rome: 2002).

¹¹ Martin Gregory, *Roma Sancta*, ed. G.B. Parks (Rome: 1969) 96.

¹² For example the phrase 'Santi Cosmo et Damiano avvocati et protettori dell'Università de Barbieri e Stufaroli' is used at the opening of the *Statuti, ordini e constitutioni della venerabile compagnia et università degli Barbieri et Stufaroli dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome, Paolo Blado: 1593).

Processions on such patronal feast days had a number of foci. Relics of the patron saint could be carried or, in the case of the Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello, the miraculous crucifix which was its *raison d'être*.¹³ Banners and floats displaying relevant sculpted images featured strongly. Most confraternities acquired the privilege from the pope of the release of one or two prisoners, from among those condemned to death, to mark their patronal feast day. Members went in procession to the prison on the eve of the feast and, often accompanied by musicians, brought the newly-released prisoner to the confraternity where he spent the night. Dressed in the habit of the confraternity he occupied a prominent position during Mass on the feast, before being exhorted to lead a good life and released.¹⁴ Dowries were commonly distributed by confraternities on the patronal feast, or on a different occasion, and this was yet another reason for a procession involving music. For such processions different types and levels of musicians were involved: *trombettini* and/or *pifferi* from one of the two groups of each maintained by the pope at Castel Sant'Angelo and the city authorities on the Campidoglio;¹⁵ singers of polyphony or *falsobordone*; groups of friars from the city's many mendicant houses chanting plainsong. Groups of musicians were distributed among those processing in a way so as not to interfere with each other, but also to draw attention to important components, such as relics, floats or significant churchmen or aristocrats.

Another major set of processions was those held by devotional confraternities during Holy Week. These took place on Holy Thursday or Good Friday (and on other days during Holy Years) and went from the institution's home base to S. Pietro in order to view the relics of the Passion held and displayed there, and then on to the *sepolcro* or altar of repose in the Cappella Paolina in the Vatican Palace. A detailed list was compiled of those who took part in the procession held on the Tuesday of Holy Week in the Jubilee Year of 1650 by the Compagnia di S. Maria del Pianto. It was clearly as much a showcase for the confraternity and the patricians who supported it, as it was a penitential exercise.¹⁶ The list,

¹³ Maroni Lumbroso – Martini, *Le confraternite* 106–109. SS. Crocifisso usually carried a copy of its crucifix in processions since the original was thought too fragile.

¹⁴ *Statuti della venerabile archiconfraternita della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, nuovamente riformati e stampati* (Rome, Paolo Blado: 1578), ch. 8, 56.

¹⁵ Cametti A., "I Musici di Campidoglio ossia il 'Concerto di cornetti e tromboni del Senato e inclito Popolo Romano' (1524–1818)", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 48 (1925) 95–135.

¹⁶ Rome, Archivio del Vicariato, Fondo S. Maria del Pianto, 184, Congregazioni 1617–1651, 687–690.

which was compiled in order to provide a template for future Holy Years, refers to each of the noble participants, giving their respective positions. There were four groups of musicians, each placed at significant points in the procession. The largest, a *concerto* made up of twenty-four voices, came near the rear, just before the float carrying the statue of the eponymous Madonna del Pianto, and followed by the leading officials of the confraternity. There were three further *concertini* of five voices situated at regular intervals. One was placed near the head and shortly before the standard of the confraternity; the second was placed before a large candelabrum carried by members of the aristocracy, separated from it by the pages of the *capo* of the procession, Filippo Colonna who paid for all of the musicians. The third was positioned shortly before the crucifix, separated from it by the pages of three aristocratic female members.

A description from the archives of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte shows that a procession held on Good Friday 1636 followed the same pattern:

[...] ci fu anco buona musica in quattro parti cioè avanti le croci e stendardi tre concertini a tre voci e nell'ultimo il coro grosso. Fu di gran de-votione detta processione, piacque al popolo che in gran copia era per le strade e moltissimi signore et signori nelle carozze per la strada a vedere.¹⁷

[...] there was also good [polyphonic] music in four groups, that is before the crucifixes and standards there were three *concertini* of three voices and, at the end, the *coro grosso*. The said procession was a cause of great devotion and pleasing to the populace who lined the streets in great numbers, with many ladies and gentlemen in carriages in the street to watch.

A detailed list of payments for hired-in musicians for the Holy Thursday procession organized by the Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone in the Holy Year of 1625 includes a *concerto grosso* of twenty-six singers (eight sopranos, seven altos, four tenors and seven basses), a *concertino* of eight singers plus the *mastro* Domenico Massenzio, and a *choro di angeli* made up of four boys.¹⁸

¹⁷ Rome, Archivio del Vicariato, Fondo S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, 363, Libro della Banca 1627–1668, fol. 72r.

¹⁸ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone, 508, non-foliated. See O'Regan N., "Domenico Massenzio, Tullio Cima and Roman Confraternity Celebrations in the Early Seventeenth Century", in Carboni F. – De Lucca V. – Ziino A. (eds.), *Tullio Cima, Domenico Massenzio e la musica del loro tempo: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Ronciglione, 30 ottobre–1 novembre 1997* (Rome: 2003) 253–268.

For Corpus Domini processions, or those with released prisoners, and girls to be awarded dowries, brass players were normally involved, as shown by a full list of participants taking part in the procession organized by the Compagnia del SS. Rosario on 5 October 1625.¹⁹ In a very similar ordering to that given for S. Maria del Pianto above, the disposition of the aristocratic members of the confraternity and other notables is carefully noted in order of precedence. At the head of the procession, following five officials, there were three trumpeters from the Campidoglio who 'played at intervals to let people know, in their houses and in the streets, that the procession was coming'. The procession featured a series of pictures illustrating the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary in the three usual groups of joyful, sorrowful, and glorious mysteries. Before each group was a choir 'of the sweetest music in white surplices'. After these came a further four trumpeters immediately before the body of the Dominican friars, followed by a fourth choir, presumably a large one. This heralded the approach of the *zitelle* to whom dowries were being given, accompanied by noble women including the wife of Carlo Barberini, brother of the pope. After various nobles came Carlo Barberini himself, the Master General of the Dominicans, the Spanish ambassador and the Swiss guard. Bringing up the rear was the *alamo* or float 'which carried the image of the *Madonna Santissima del Rosario* from the Minerva painted by Beato Giovanni da Fiesole, mounted on a *machina* all silvered, in a gilded tabernacle. At its feet were effigies of St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Siena, between whom sat a choir of boys dressed as angels, which sang most sweetly. The singers were surrounded by candles and accompanied by people carrying torches'.

All of these examples show the importance of music to processions. As well as projecting a positive image of the confraternity, they also reinforced collective solidarity. Silent processions seem not to have occurred since their effect could have been lost in the bustle of the busy city. The religious historian Claudio Bernardi has described a Corpus Christi procession in Genoa in 1582 when the *maestro di cappella* and the choir refused to take part, leaving the procession without music and 'much disrupted because it failed to move' ('molto sconcertato perché non si caminava').²⁰ As well as illustrating the need for music to keep the procession walking in step, Bernardi draws attention to the term 'sconcertato' used to describe the turmoil, saying that the relation between the components in a procession was not necessarily a pyramid-like

¹⁹ Gigli Giacinto, *Diario di Roma (1608–1670)*, ed. G. Ricciotti (Rome: 1958) 88–91.

²⁰ Bernardi C., "Corpus Domini: Ritual Metamorphoses and Social Changes in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Genoa", in Terpstra N. (ed.), *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: 2000) 228–242.

hierarchy but functioned more like the members of a musical ensemble, needing the sort of collaborative organization which characterized a musical performance.

Confraternity processional activity formed part of the rebranding of Rome as the holy city, the new Jerusalem, in the wake of the Council of Trent. Indeed even before the Council began its work, new confraternities were being founded and older ones renewed, with music supporting these activities. An important antecedent to the Holy Week processions to S. Pietro just described was the regular performance of a *Sacra rappresentazione* of the Passion in the Colosseum by the Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone from at least the 1490s until the 1530s.²¹ Although no music survives, we know that it played an integral part in telling the story of the Passion, with choruses of Pharisees and people commenting at the end of each act of the drama. In 1554, Pope Julius III called a general procession on 28 December to mark the return of England to obedience to the Roman Church, under Queen Mary I Tudor. In answering the pope's call, SS. Crocifisso recorded its decision to join the procession and to carry its miracle-working crucifix.²²

In the period after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the city's social work was increasingly regulated through confraternities, under the watchful eyes of their Cardinal Protectors.²³ The various artisan and professional corporations either transformed themselves into confraternities or developed a parallel *compagnia* alongside their traditional structure as an *università*. The city's corporations had traditionally organized and taken part in a great civic procession on 15 August that accompanied the icon of Christ from the Sancta Sanctorum at S. Giovanni in Laterano to meet the image of Mary, the *Salus Populi Romani* at S. Maria Maggiore.²⁴ On the pretext of disturbances which had occasionally disrupted the procession, Pope Pius V called for its disbandment in 1566.²⁵ Part of his motivation was a wish to get the trade corporations to process instead in a new corporate procession organized after Easter in order to publicize, and fundraise for, the newly-founded Monte di Pietà in

²¹ Wisch B. – Newbigin N., *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome* (Philadelphia: 2013), ch. 10.

²² Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello, P I 55, Libro de Decreti 1544–1563, 182.

²³ Black C., *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: 2003).

²⁴ Wisch – Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, ch. 6.

²⁵ Ibid.

which musicians also played a part.²⁶ Confraternities were very regularly used to bulk out processions called by the pope and church authorities in order to pray for the special needs of the Church, particularly during the wars of religion in the sixteenth century and the Thirty Years War in the early seventeenth. They often included musicians in their ranks on these processions. Confraternities provided a mechanism for marshalling large organized groups of people, and to harness the power of composite prayer in the cause of church and papal politics, in return for obtaining a special Jubilee indulgence promulgated by popes on such occasions.²⁷ According to the religious historian Luigi Fiorani, it was in processions that devotion and politics most vividly came together in the Counter-Reformation period.²⁸ This was certainly the case during the Holy Thursday procession organized by SS. Crocifisso in the Jubilee Year of 1650 when anti-Spanish feeling led to an attack on that procession in which the Spanish Ambassador was taking part, causing the replica of its miracle-working crucifix to be abandoned in the street while the participants fled.²⁹

Confraternities were thus, on the one hand, co-opted by the post-Tridentine Church and, on the other, by an aristocracy eager to burnish its religious credentials as well as aggrandize itself. In both cases music had a significant role to play. One strong incentive towards more complex music was its attraction for the patrician members who flooded into Roman confraternities in the wake of the Council of Trent. Giovanni Animuccia's justification for the complexity of the pieces in his *Il secondo libro delle laudi*—the increasing attendance of gentlemen at the oratory sessions—is well known and could be applied equally to confraternities.³⁰ The most obvious example is that of SS. Crocifisso which, from the period in which members of the Cavalieri family began to get involved in the 1570s, spent increasingly large sums of money on Lenten and Holy Week music, eventually expecting its aristocratic guardians to fund the Lenten oratory music while giving them a say in who was to compose

²⁶ Payments to musicians for the procession survive from 1640, the date of the earliest surviving *Mandati spediti e pagati*. Archivio Storico del Monte di Pietà di Roma, V.3.1 (olim Tomo 383).

²⁷ A list of special processions called by popes and given the Jubilee indulgence is given in Thurston H., *The Holy Year of Jubilee* (London: 1900; reprint, New York: 1980).

²⁸ Fiorani L., "Processioni tra devozione e politica", in Fagiolo M. (ed.), *La festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870*, vol. 2: *Atlante* (Turin: 1997) 66–83, at 67.

²⁹ Gigli, *Diario* 354–355.

³⁰ Fenlon I., "Varieties of Experience: Music and Reform in Renaissance Italy", in Brundin A. – Treherne M. (eds.), *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot: 2009) 199–213; O'Regan N., "Church Reform and Devotional Music in 16th-century Rome: The Influence of Lay Confraternities", *ibid.* 215–232.

it.³¹ Its expenditure was exceptional but by no means unique and all confraternities saw a significant rise in money spent on musicians in the years between 1580 and 1620, after which expenditure leveled out. Confraternities like SS. Crocifisso provided agency for cardinals and aristocratic families who, by sponsoring confraternity music, could draw attention to themselves and their political and patrician roles.

If outward display was one side of the confraternity coin, the other was its internal devotional life. While charitable activity came more to the fore in the decades after Trent, a confraternity's primary purpose remained personal and collective sanctification. At its heart was communal prayer, recited or chanted monthly or weekly, monthly communion, commemoration of dead members and benefactors and, in many cases, more intense devotional activity during Lent which might involve communal flagellation. Much of this activity was centered on the confraternity's oratory, a space which might be a simple room or a more elaborate stand-alone structure. The oratory was the location for the regular chanting of the Office of the Blessed Virgin, or of the Dead. Such chanting was an integral part of confraternity life and was engaged in by all confraternities, with groups of *coristi* elected regularly from among the members to make sure that it happened. The following extract from the 1636 Statutes of the Arciconfraternita di S. Spirito in Sassia shows how this was organized in one of the major confraternities:

Accioché il dovuto onore a dio, alla madre sua santissima ed ai santi suoi nel celebrare i divini uffizii nell'oratorio della nostra Compagnia, si faccia con quell'ordine che conviene, però vi sia un maestro di cappella pratico per reggere ed ordinare il coro, acciocché intonato dai guardiani o dal loro vicario, e dato principio all'uffizio dal detto maestro si faccia seguire, e coi suoi coristi faccia quello che lor tocca finchè sarà terminato detto uffizio a gloria di dio, disponendo delle cose del coro il prefato maestro, come in distribuire le lezioni da recitarsi dai fratelli, intonare salmi et inni secondo il tempo; e l'elezione di detto maestro si farà ogni anno dagli stessi guardiani, se però per l'attitudine e diligente servitù di alcun fratello in esercitare tale uffizio non paresse ai guardiani futuri di confermarvelo, ed acciò l'uffizio ed il salmeggiare sia fatto nel debito modo alternative dal coro, vi si deputerà un numero conveniente di coristi, da nominarsi dal maestro di cappella ed approvarsi dai guardiani, acciò detti

³¹ Alaleona D., *Storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia*, 2nd edition (Milan: 1945); Riepe J., "Die Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso und ihre Oratorienmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts", in Engelhardt, *Musikstadt Rom* 159–203.

coristi possano e debbano intervenire ai detti uffizii, nel tempo dei quali si dovranno vestire del sacco della compagnia, e recitare ed assistere con quella devozione ed attenzione che conviene, obbedendo sempre a quelli che sono superiori, e che ordinano i detti uffizi.³²

In order that the duty to honor God, his most holy Mother and his saints, in celebrating the Divine Offices in the oratory of our company, be carried out with all possible order, there should be a *maestro di cappella* practiced in directing and regulating the choir, so that once the Offices are intoned by the guardians or by their vicar, and commenced by the said *maestro* they may follow, and with his *coristi* he should organize that each take their turn until the Office is finished to the glory of God, arranging things among the choir such as the distribution of the lessons which the brothers should recite, intoning the psalms and hymns according to the season; and this *maestro* should be elected each year by the said guardians, except when, because of the attitude or diligent service of one of the brothers in exercising this office, the incoming guardians decide to reconfirm him. And in order that the Office and the psalmody be done in the proper manner, alternating by [both sides of] the choir, an appropriate number of *coristi* should be deputed, nominated by the *maestro di cappella* and approved by the guardians, so that the said *coristi* can and should attend the said Offices, dressed in the habits of the Compagnia, and recite and assist with that devotion and attention which is proper, always obeying their superiors and those who organize the said Offices.

The *maestro di cappella* mentioned here was nominated from among the members and was not the same as the professional *maestro di cappella* employed at the church of S. Spirito at this time to regulate polyphonic music and teach the choirboys.³³ Nor are the statutes referring here to a professional choir: the *coro* is the body of lay members tasked with chanting the Offices. Other confraternities employed a less experienced musician, perhaps someone young and at the start of their career, to lead the singing in the oratory.³⁴ There are occasional payments in confraternity archives to musicians

³² Reprinted in: *Costituzioni e capitoli della Venerabile Arciconfraternita di S. Spirito in Saxia di Roma* (Rome: 1885).

³³ Allegra A., "La Cappella musicale di S. Spirito in Saxia di Roma", *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 17 (1940) 26–38; De Angelis P., *Musica e musicisti nell'Arcispedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia dal Quattrocento all'Ottocento* (Rome: 1950).

³⁴ For example, the Compagnia di S. Ambrogio dei Lombardi employed one 'Luca maestro di cappella del oratorio' between January 1573 and January 1574; this is likely to have been

for teaching the brothers and their sons to sing—presumably in plainchant, though this is not specified—and admonitions in statutes about chanting at an appropriate speed. This chanting, which usually took place in a private sacred space such as an oratory or chapel, helped reinforce a feeling of group solidarity, of ritual kinship or what Jennifer Fisk Rondeau has called ‘homosociality’, the male bonding which sharing private activities encouraged among men (women did not normally chant the Offices, though music, sung by hired professionals, could be included in the program of the annual general meeting of the Congregazione delle Donne).³⁵ The historian Angelo Torre has written that for confraternity members ‘singing and, above all, flagellation tended to reinforce a sense of internal social cohesion’.³⁶ A particular extension of this practice was the singing of the Offices of *Tenebrae* during Holy Week, practiced by many of the devotional confraternities. This could be enhanced by hiring singers to sing the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the responsories in polyphony.

Singing played an important role in assisting the memorizing of sacred texts.³⁷ This was particularly exploited by the Roman Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Cristiana where singing to simple formulae was used to help memorize prayers such as the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and the Credo. As Diego (Giacomo) Ledesma wrote in the introduction to his *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana* of 1573:

Le cause perché si fa, e perché in questo modo; e particolarmente le cause perché si canta; principalmente nei luoghi dove è cosa nuova il cantare così; cioè perché i putti imparino più facilmente, ed ancora quelli che non sanno ben parlare, e quelli che non sanno leggere, ed i rozi d’ingegno, rustici, e le donne: sì perché più si conferma la memoria co’l canto e si fa più soave l’imparare; ed acciò in luogo di canzoni brutte, che si sogliono

the young Luca Marenzio, recently arrived from Brescia. See O'Regan N., “Marenzio's Early Years in Rome: New Light from Archival Sources”, in Rosa Barezzani M.T. – Delfino A. – Tibaldi R. (eds.), “Rinascimento musicale bresciano: Studi sulla musica e la cultura a Brescia tra il Quattrocento e il Seicento”, special issue, *Philomusica on-line* 15, 1 (2016) 803–810, http://riviste.paviauniversitypress.it/index.php/phi/issue/view/15_1.

³⁵ Rondeau J.F., “Homosociality and Civic (Dis)order in Late Medieval Italian Confraternities”, in Terpstra, *The Politics of Ritual Kinship* 30–47.

³⁶ Torre A., “Faith's Boundaries: Ritual and Territory in Rural Piedmont in the Early Modern Period”, in Terpstra, *The Politics of Ritual Kinship* 143–261.

³⁷ O'Regan N., “Music, Memory, and Faith: How Did Singing in Latin and the Vernacular Influence What People Knew about Their Faith in Early Modern Rome?”, *The Italianist* 34, 3 (2014) 437–448. The material in the following paragraphs is treated in more detail there. See also Filippi's chapter in the present volume and the literature quoted there.

cantare, si cantino cose sante e buone; sì anco perché n'abbiamo l'esempio nella primitiva Chiesa, che cantavano inni la mattina e la sera in lode di Dio.³⁸

The reasons for doing this and in this manner, and especially the reasons for singing, particularly in places where to sing like this is a novelty, is because thus the pupils learn more easily and especially those who do not know very well how to speak or how to read, those of simple mind, peasants, and women: because the memory is reinforced by singing and the teaching is made more sweet; also in places where rude songs are commonly sung, [it is better] to sing those holy and good songs. We also have the example of the early Church which sang hymns in the morning and praises to God in the evening.

A follow-up publication of 1576 expanded on the various ways in which music and singing could enhance the learning experience; his synthesis, displaying considerable knowledge of psychology, can stand as a summary of the roles played by music in confraternity life generally and, indeed, in the broader life of the post-Tridentine Church:

Imperoché il cantare la Dottrina e le lodi spirituali a duoi cori è utile per più ragioni. Prima, per imparare con più facilità a mente, come l'isperienza già l'ha fatto chiaro. Secondo, per far che i putti stiano più allegramente alla Dottrina, nel tempo che sono invitati alli giuochi, come le feste. Terza, acciò quelli ch'apena possono parlare l'imparino per mezzo del canto. Il che non impareriano sì presto senza canto. Quarta, per insegnarla con manco fatica. Percioché cantando verbigrazia il Credo tutti lo dicono, e volentieri, ma ascoltandolo a uno a uno, come sono molti, si spenderà molto tempo e fatica. Quinta, per evitar li cattivi canti, che sogliono cantare dovunque si trovano li putti e grandi, per non sapere altri canti. Sesta, per far che quelli che sentono e non vengono alla Dottrina l'imparino. Settima, acciò li putti sappino cantare con quell'aere più facile che si potrà, dovunque saranno e vorranno, overo la Dottrina, overo lode a Dio nostro Signore. Ottava, per imitare l'uso della Chiesa Romana Cattolica, che canta la notte e il giorno le ore canoniche. Ed ultima, per imitare gli Angioli nel Cielo, che continuamente cantano, Santo, Santo, Santo, a il Signor Iddio, il quale solo è degno di lode, e gloria, ed onore:

³⁸ Ledesma Diego de, *Modo per insegnar la dottrina christiana* (Rome, Heredi di Antonio Blado: 1573) 8v.

il quale disse, intrando in Ierusalemme, a' gli Giudei, che reprendevano gli figliuoli, quali cantando dicevano: Osanna Filio David, etc., che se gli figliuoli cessavano di lodarlo, le pietre lo lodariano.³⁹

Singing the doctrine and the *lodi spirituali* by two choirs is useful for a number of reasons: First, to make it easier to commit to memory, as experience has already made clear. Second, to make it more attractive for pupils to come to the *Dottrina* at times when they are otherwise invited to play games, as on feast days. Third, those who can only just speak can learn [better] through the medium of song; they do not learn as fast without singing. Fourth, to teach with minimum effort: because when everyone sings the Credo they all take part, and readily, whereas simply listening to one after the other takes a lot of time and is boring. Fifth, to avoid the scurrilous songs that are generally sung wherever youngsters—and older people—gather when they do not know any other songs. Sixth, so that those who hear and do not come to the *Dottrina* will also learn. Seventh, so that the pupils will learn to sing with as much ease as possible so that they will know and want to sing either the *Dottrina* or the *laude* of God our Lord. Eighth, to imitate the usage of the Roman Catholic Church, which sings night and day the canonical hours. And finally to sing like the angels in Heaven who continually sing: 'Holy, Holy, Holy' to the Lord God, who only is worthy of praise and glory and honor, and who said, when entering Jerusalem, to the Jews who were reproaching the children who sang 'Hosanna to the son of David' etc. that even if the children stopped singing his praises, the very stones would continue [see *Mt* 21:9 and *Lk* 19:40].

Singing and memorizing sacred texts was not confined to those involved in the Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Cristiana. All confraternity members would have memorized a considerable number of psalms, hymns, and other items which were regularly chanted in their churches and oratories, particularly the elements of the Offices of the Blessed Virgin and of the Dead, the *Te Deum*, *Veni creator*, the Marian antiphons such as the *Salve Regina*, litanies of the Virgin and of the saints etc. Ubiquitous were the seven penitential psalms, especially the *Miserere* and the *De profundis*. They were, for example, prescribed for recitation by the artistic Compagnia dei Virtuosi del Pantheon before monthly Mass at their altar in the Pantheon in 1553.⁴⁰ Members of the

39 Ledesma Diego de, *Dottrina Christiana a modo di dialogo* (Milan, Pacifico Pontio: 1576) 4r.

40 Tiberia V., *La Compagnia di S. Giuseppe di Terrasanta nel XVI secolo* (Rome: 2000) 108.

Florentine confraternity of S. Giovanni Decollato recited them while accompanying those condemned to death to their execution.⁴¹ They also formed the basis of Lenten weekly devotional services in oratories. It was in oratories that some of the most intense uses of music took place, at the regular weekly services held during Lent and in celebrations of the Offices of *Tenebrae* during Holy Week. Again the increasing presence of members of the aristocracy in confraternity oratories was a spur to using more complex polyphony, most notably at SS. Crocifisso, as mentioned earlier. The Jesuit Michele Lauretano, rector of the Collegio Germanico from 1573 to 1587, is reported to have said that 'he thought those things—the nimble and effeminate voices of men, and the soft instruments of musicians—should be better relegated to oratories and festive assemblies of sodalists (i.e., confraternities)'.⁴²

Music, in the broadest sense of the word, was ubiquitous to the early modern ear, as Christopher Marsh has ably demonstrated in the English context.⁴³ Roman confraternities were competing sonically with street cries, announcements, liturgies and devotions at other institutions, and, of course, general hubbub. They sent around trumpeting heralds to announce the special indulgences granted for patronal feasts. For confraternity members, chanting psalms, litanies, and hymns came naturally and represented their participation in the Church's intercessory prayer, applied particularly to the group's own living and dead members and to its benefactors. Access to this spiritual resource was a prime reason for joining confraternities. In the broader ritual life of the city, confraternities played a significant role in processions, both individual and composite; they supported the city's many cults and marked penitential periods like Lent and Advent, or the month of November dedicated to the Dead. Higher registers of music-making were employed to add grandeur to festal liturgies, to attract more high-ranking members and to pursue competitive prestige. Their various uses of music, as described above, mirrored those in the larger city society but also helped define particular confraternities, to advertise them, facilitate their community building, and boost their confidence. Understanding their consumption of music helps us understand the significant place confraternities occupied in the early modern city. As the Scottish historian John McGavin wrote some time ago: 'the history of urban

⁴¹ Rome, Archivio di Stato, Fondo S. Giovanni Decollato, 6, Giornale del Provveditore 1582–1585, fol. 92r.

⁴² Culley T.D., *Jesuits and Music. I: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome: 1970) 77.

⁴³ Marsh C., *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: 2010).

institutions cannot be written without close attention to the music that was played in and around them and it can be written more easily if music-making is closely studied'.⁴⁴

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44 McGavin J., "Secular Music in the Burgh of Haddington, 1530–1640", in Kisby F. (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge: 2001) 45–56, at 49.

Confraternity Multipart Singing: Contemporary Practice and Hypothetical Scenarios for the Early Modern Era

Ignazio Macchiarella

In some twenty-first-century southern and insular European communities the confraternity continues to flourish as a living reality of great importance. This is especially true in Sardinia, where confraternities thrive in small villages, larger towns including the capital of Cagliari, and in both coastal tourist areas and inland regions. In addition to developing an intense associative life, confraternities play a central role in the organization of annual religious events prescribed by the ritual calendar. There can be no doubt that the confreres truly believe in the seriousness and importance of their confraternity's activities and that these activities transcend expressions of religious faith. The most intense period of confraternity activity occurs during Holy Week when complex paraliturgical events take place. During these events—events that differ in nature from community to community—the representation of the Passion and death of Christ unfolds through sequences of ritual ceremonies of great symbolic value that, beyond their strictly religious content, acquire a variety of collectively shared meanings and evoke internal dynamics in relations between the members of each community.¹ Recovering from a period of crisis that reached its peak in the 1960s and 70s, the confraternities experienced a rebirth that coincided with a reaffirmation of local cultural values. In several villages the oratorio, as the seat of the confraternity, functions as a place where men of all ages gather to discuss problems of daily community life and to organize ritual events.²

The audio examples marked by the icon  in this chapter can be accessed via this link: <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5311099>.

¹ See Macchiarella I., "L'attualità della pratica del falsobordone", in Addamiano A. – Luisi F. (eds.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra in occasione del Centenario di fondazione del PIMS, Roma, 26 maggio–1 giugno 2011*, 3 vols. (Vatican City: 2013) I, 341–352.

² Despite provisions in the statutes for their inclusion, the presence of women in the oratorio remains very limited. Anthropological literature on contemporary confraternities is sparse: see Rusconi R., "Confraternite, compagnie, devozioni", in Chittolini G. – Miccoli G. (eds.), *La chiesa e il potere politico dal medioevo all'età contemporanea*, Storia d'Italia: Annali 9 (Turin: 1986) 467–506. According to a confrere from Corsica, nowadays 'the confraternity is the last

From their inception until the present day, musical practice has been fundamental to the life of all Christian confraternities. Today, in Sardinia and elsewhere, the wide variety of confraternal musical practices range from such inclusive forms as polyvocal singing, consisting of voices in unison or in parallel parts, to exclusive forms reserved for groups of specialized singers equipped with the special skills required to perform orally transmitted polyphonies in three, four or five parts. All musical practice within the confraternity arouses intense interest. In particular, the exclusive practices attract people—especially young people—to the oratorio. Many of them, in fact, will accept the confraternity's severe rules just to be allowed the chance to practice multipart singing in the village rituals.³

In most cases, especially in central-northern areas, these exclusive musical practices are in four parts by chording, performed by a single singer for each vocal part. They are complex performative mechanisms characterized by special vocal emissions that shape very particular timbres and vocal colours. Each performance unfolds within a unique scenario. Furthermore, as often happens in orally transmitted music, these confraternal practices are grounded in a concept of 'open form': they are based on a shared canvas that offers spaces for individual variations. These variations are not a matter of pure musical invention since they concern actual relationships between human beings. Through the generation of sound variations, the performance mechanism of variability creates particular channels of communication both between the performers themselves, and between the performers and the local listeners who are able to understand them.

Sardinian confraternity multipart singing occupies a space that is remote from any concept of concert music; it is in fact a living musical practice through which collective relationships are represented and enacted. It is a major element of the social life of several villages through which many people—both locally situated performers and competent listeners—'think about who they are' and 'the world around them'. All confraternity singers are well aware that what they do during Holy Week and the other special moments of the year is neither 'folklore' nor a 'mere heritage of the past'. They represent their performance

space of real democracy, where one is considered for who he is and not for what he has, because rich and poor are equal within the confraternity'. See Macchiarella I., *Tre voci per pensare il mondo: Pratiche polifoniche confraternali in Corsica* (Udine: 2011) 124.

3 The same practices also provide a strong call for enthusiasts of the so-called 'traditional song' who often make long trips, even from the mainland, to hear performances within the ritual context: see Lortat-Jacob B. – Macchiarella I., *Musica e religione: Il canto a concordu*, Encyclopedia della musica sarda 6 (Cagliari: 2012).

commitment as a sort of service to the community, as something they do for the benefit of their village and to consolidate its inhabitants' sense of community. At the same time, during the performance, each singer makes his conscious musical choices addressing his music interpretations to the village's competent audience—that is, both the other singers and the listeners—who are able to understand the intentional creative elaborations that he inserts as he manages his vocal part, as a result of his musical thinking.⁴

An Emblematic Musical Exclusivity

Any local tradition of oral confraternal multipart singing will be defined by its own unique musical characteristics, including a vocabulary of technical terms, and its particular performance customs. Turning our attention to the hamlet of Santu Lussurgiu, in the heart of Sardinia,⁵ we encounter a practice of four-part singing called *cantu a concordu*.

Village oral tradition maintains that the *cantu a concordu* is closely connected to the confraternity. Today, there are four confraternities in the village. The most important of these is sa Cunfraria e su Rosariu, the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary. Founded in 1605, it has continued to operate without interruption through the centuries, preserving a central role both in the transmission of multipart singing and in the organization of the Holy Week rituals. Despite having ceased their activities in the period 1960–1989, the other three confraternities (sa Cunfraria e Santa Rughe, the confraternity of the Holy Cross, founded in 1587; sa Cunfraria e sos Sette Dolores, the confraternity of Our Lady of Sorrows, founded in 1735; sa Cunfraria e su Carmine, the Carmelite confraternity, founded in 1629) have recently been revitalized by several young men under the guidance of older members of the su Rosariu. There are approximately two hundred confreres, and approximately half of them are able to sing *a concordu*.

⁴ See Macchiarella I., "Exploring Micro-Worlds of Music Meanings", *El oido pensante* 2, 1 (2014), <http://ppct.caicyt.gov.ar/index.php/oidopensante/article/view/4092/3750>.

⁵ Situated at an altitude of 600 meters on the eastern slopes of the Montiferru mountains in the province of Oristano, Santu Lussurgiu is currently home to about 2,600 inhabitants. It has a typical agricultural-pastoral economy, plus several handicrafts studios. The village is heir to an ancient educational tradition derived from a school of Latin and rhetoric that was founded there by wealthy enlightened landowners around the middle of the nineteenth century.

The su Rosariu and sos Sette Dolores confraternities have an official *cuncordu*, that is to say a permanent quartet entrusted with performing at every ritual ceremony of the society. These quartets freely engage in musical activity beyond the confraternity's jurisdiction; they can choose to sing where and when they like, and they are free to accept invitations to hold concerts outside the village without reference to the confraternity. Indisputably, the most important quartet is su Cuncordu 'e su Rosariu.⁶

The two main sung texts are the *Miserere* and *sa Nuvema* (a free translation in the Sardinian language of the *Stabat Mater*); then there are the five parts of the Mass Ordinary and other devotional texts. The *cantu a cuncordu* is performed by four male voices, one voice for each part. From the highest, the voices are designated thus: *contraltu*, *'oghe*, *contra*, and *bassu*. One singer always performs the same part, and the parts are never doubled. During the performance the singers stand still in a circle where the *bassu* faces the *'oghe* and the *contra* stands to the left of the *bassu*.

According to modular musical thought, the performance is not constituted by songs or pieces in the meanings usually given to these words; instead they use the word *pesada* meaning, more or less, 'to start singing'. The performance consists of juxtapositions of musical units that are clearly bounded by long rests. The performance of the same text may have different lengths and/or internal articulation according to the circumstances in which it is executed.

Every unit begins with a long solo incipit, also called *pesada*, that is sung by one voice, either the *'oghe* or the *bassu*. This solo incipit ends with a precise note called *su puntu* (the point) where the other parts enter, producing an overlapping in the form of a chord, often in 5/8/10 (or 3/5/8) position, that is held or repeated. Then, according to the unit's pattern, the parts move differently within very narrow ranges. These melodic movements are called *ziratas*. Depending on the case, one, two, three or all four parts move, producing overlappings that are not rigorously predetermined. After a certain period of time, the parts stop and produce a chord, which often corresponds to the initial one. These phases can therefore be represented as a 'stop and go' process that can be summarized as follows [Fig. 14.1]:

⁶ This quartet, continuously active since 1976, is the focus of Macchiarella I., *Cantare a cuncordu: Uno studio a più voci* (Udine: 2009), a book which adopts a dialogical approach in a negotiated methodology.

Long rest	Beginning "a solo" voice	Chord overlapping (stop) held and/or repeated	Movements of the parts (go)	Final Chord overlapping (stop) usually held (sometimes repeated)	Long rest

FIGURE 14.1 *The 'stop and go' process of cantu a concordu.*

At the beginning and end of the unit, the two 'stop' sections are musically predictable. Although the overlapping part is prescribed, without 'surprises', it can vary in duration and in details concerning, for example, the vocal amalgam. The central 'go' section is largely unpredictable, and can be more or less long and surprising. During this section, coordinated actions and combined emissions take place: each singer listens to the others in order to learn how to combine his vocal emission with the others according to both previous experiences and actual intentionalities connected with the circumstances of the performance. It is a creative participation in a collective process and it represents the quality of interpersonal relationships.⁷ Example 14.1 shows a module in which the central 'go' section is not highly developed and in which movement is restricted to the two inner parts. A red line indicates the solo beginning, green indicates the 'stop' sections, and the 'go' section is marked blue.

Music Unit01

+20 about cent ↑

Bassu: Mi - se-re-ne-iDe o Se Vib. cu ndu

Bassu: ma-gna(m) mi - se-ri-co - rdia(m) tu (o)

Bassu: o u

Contraltu: e se

'Oghe: e se

Contra: e se

Bassu: a c s

EXAMPLE 14.1 *Miserere (Music Units 1–2). Cantu a concordu from *Santu Lussurgiu*. Recording (2009) and transcription by Ignazio Macchiarella.*

⁷ See Macchiarella, "Exploring Micro-Worlds" 11.

40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50

Contraltu cu - - - ndu mu - - - lti - - - tu

'Oghe cu - - - ndu mu - - - lti - - - tu

Contra cu - - - ndu mu - - - lti - - - tu

Bassu cu - - - ndu mu - - - lti - - - tu

50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 1:00

Contraltu di - - - ne

'Oghe di - - - ne

Contra di - - - ne

Bassu di - - - ne

Music Unit 02

1:00 1:01 1:02 1:03 1:04 1:05 1:06 1:07 1:08 1:09 1:10

Contraltu mi - - - se - - - ra

'Oghe mi - - - se - - - ra

Contra mi - - - se - - - ra

Bassu mi - - - se - - - ra

1:10 1:11 1:12 1:13 1:14 1:15 1:16 1:17 1:18 1:19 1:20

Contraltu tio - - - ne tua - - -

'Oghe tio - - - ne tua - - -

Contra tio - - - ne tua - - -

Bassu tio - - - ne tua - - -

1:20 1:21 1:22 1:23 1:24 1:25 1:26

Contraltu rum

'Oghe rum

Contra rum

Bassu rum

Music Unit #3

de - - -

EXAMPLE 14.1 (*Cont.*)

Example 14.2, representing a *Miserere* performance from Bortigali, another Sardinian village,⁸ exemplifies the variability of this musical practice. While the singers of Bortigali are not members of a confraternity, they are officially nominated by the priors of the three local confraternities before any ritual ceremony so that multipart singing is assured. From the highest, the four parts are designated thus: *mesuoghe*, *boghe*, *contra*, and *bassu*. As the transcription reveals, the *incipit* (red line) is very brief, the first ‘stop’ section (green) is also short, since it is made by the sequential entrance of the voices producing the basic chord that differs from the previous chord. The ‘go’ section (blue) is very developed, being articulated in different phases, and all four parts move. The final ‘stop’ section (green) ensures that the *boghe* can quickly produce vocal movements.

EXAMPLE 14.2 *Miserere* (*Music Unit 1*). Cantu a chidasantinu from Bortigali. Recording (2015) and transcription by Noemi Manca.

⁸ Located 30 km from Santu Lussurgiu, Bortigali is home to 2,000 inhabitants. It is one of the few villages in Sardinia where two distinctive multipart singing mechanisms in four parts coexist, one for religious practices and the other for secular practices (see Lortat-Jacob – Macchiarella, *Musica e religione: Il canto a concordu* 27).

Musical notation for four voices: Mesuoghe, Boghe, Contra, and Bassu. The notation is divided into two sections. The first section (measures 20-30) shows Mesuoghe singing 'e' notes, Boghe singing 'e' notes, Contra singing 'e' notes, and Bassu singing 'e' notes. The second section (measures 30-40) shows Mesuoghe singing 'e' notes, Boghe singing 'e-e-o' notes, Contra singing 'e' notes, and Bassu singing 'e' notes.

EXAMPLE 14.2 (Cont.)

In Santu Lussurgiu and, *mutatis mutandis*, other villages the same music mechanism is performed to sing secular texts in the Sardinian language that are mostly connected with the Carnival period and with other occasions of social gatherings. A transcription of a secular performance including an articulated 'go' section follows on the next page [Example 14.3].

While space considerations prohibit a more comprehensive discussion of the musical mechanisms and the performance scenario, what I would like to underline is that the *cantu a concordu* works as a unique communication tool between people. Operating within its restricted music rules and the constraints of its two stop-and-go phases, the *cantu a concordu* allows ample room for musical creativity through which the confreres and many of the villagers emblematically represent their mutual relationships. It is a music domain whose processes, both formal and aesthetic, are not for their own sake, but are integral parts of the special activity and worldview belonging to Roman Catholic confraternities.

Viewed in this way, contemporary confraternal multipart practices can stimulate meaningful reflections about the past interpretation of a large part of

Music Unit #1

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40
40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50

'Oghe
'Oghe
Cuntralu
'Oghe
Contra
Bassu

Chi - e no
sa-s_pe - na d'u - nu co - ro
i - nna - mo-ra-du
chi - e no a - ma nio
de o - de
de o - de
de
de

EXAMPLE 14.3 *Istudiantina* (*Music Unit 1*). Cantu a concordu from *Santu Lussurgiu*. Recording (2009) and transcription by Ignazio Macchiarella.

religious musical sources. This does not mean that the confreres of today faithfully reproduce whatever their ancestors did centuries ago. Indeed, like any human custom, music exists in a state of continuous transformation. Instead, the analysis of what they do now provides the basis for a greater understanding of historical written sources, or, from a different point of view, for such an act of 'historical imagination'⁹ that is the only goal of the 'paradoxical knowledge'¹⁰ to which one aspires through the investigation of music events in the past.

The *falsobordone*¹¹

Found in written sources from the end of the fifteenth century, the *falsobordone* was a technique of harmonization of a *cantus firmus* based on the sound of root position triads written down, as a rule, in four parts with the doubling of the tonic. Essentially, it was articulated in short musical units made up of a first section containing a recitation on one chord, followed by a more or less decorated cadenza leading to a final chord that sometimes corresponded with the initial chord [Example 14.4].

Far from standing as a musical genre, the *falsobordone* was a polyphonic practice that lent itself to a variety of uses within different musical contexts. Ignored or despised by coeval theorists, it was regarded as a simple polyphonic elaboration, derived from musical practices outside the *res facta*, i.e., outside what we could call the great musical tradition of that period.¹²

In fact, we have no direct evidence about either its origins or its relationship with the more ancient North-European faux-bourdon. The most interesting of those few clues we do have can be found in the titles, dedications, or bodies of some of the written sources. Here, we read that the music expression is named *falsobordone* according to the 'use of the common people'. The

⁹ See Jeffery P., *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago – London: 1992).

¹⁰ See Zumthor P., *La lettre et la voix: De la littérature médiévale* (Paris: 1987) 29. 'Paradoxical', of course, due to sound's ephemeral nature.

¹¹ It was Professor Paolo Emilio Carapezza who first suggested to me that I should verify the historical correspondences between contemporary confraternal multipart singing and the sources of the Italian *falsobordone*. As a matter of fact they are immediate and very meaningful relationships.

¹² 'Great tradition' in the meaning shared by cultural studies rooted on the classic works by Robert Redfield: see Burke P., *What is Cultural History* (Cambridge: 2004).

Sic cantentur alij versus
voces christi giudeorum
in passione domine
secundum iohannem

cantus

altus

tenor

bassus

Sic cantentur alij versus

Sic cantentur alij versus

Sic cantentur alij versus

Sic cantentur alij versus

EXAMPLE 14.4 *Miserere in falsobordone*, from Paolo Ferrarese, *Passiones, lamentationes, responsoria, Benedictus, Miserere, multaque alia devotissima cantica ad officium Hebdomadae Sanctae pertinentia* (Venice, Girolamo Scotto: 1565).

following listing, for example, gives titles from some printed sources in which the italicized emphasis is mine.¹³

Modulationes in Magnificat ad omnes tropos, nuper aeditae à Simone Boyleau [...] Addito insuper *concentu vulgo falso Bordon nominato* ad omnes tonos accommodato (Milan, C. Pozzo: 1566).

Psalmi omnes qui ad vesperas decantantur et compositiones *falsi bordoni vulgo appellatae* Pauli Isnardi (Venice, erede di Girolamo Scotto: 1569).

¹³ Two of the oldest sources of *falsobordoni*, the Montecassino manuscript 971N (about 1460–1480), and the Grey codex (same period), analyzed by Murray Bradshaw (see Bradshaw M.C., *The Falsobordone: A Study in Renaissance and Baroque Music* [Rome – Neuhausen – Stuttgart: 1978] 37–40), have been interpreted by Giulio Cattin as an adaptation of the monastic singing to secular ‘style and taste’, thus manifesting the ‘gradual relaxation of monastic discipline’. See Cattin G., “Tradizione e tendenze innovative nella normativa e nella pratica liturgico-musicale della Congregazione di S. Giustina”, *Benedictina* 17, 2 (1970) 270–287.

Psalmi ad vesperas dierum festorum solemnium per totum annum *quae vulgus falso bordone appellat* a diversis authoribus conditi [...] A Rocho Rodio conditi nuper et impressi (Naples, Mattias Cancer: 1573).

In his treatise *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, Adriano Banchieri mentions ‘the chanting called *falsobordone* by the common people’, pointing out the inappropriateness of this definition:

[...] quelle cantilene *dal volgo dette falsi bordones*, uso e vocabolo improprio, che, essendo un contesto di consonanze soavi, in vece di usar nome di soave bordoni, se gli attribuisse nome di falsi.¹⁴

[...] those chants that are called ‘falsi bordones’ by the common people; indeed, an inappropriate term and habit, because whereas they are made of sweet consonances, instead of being termed ‘soave [sweet] bordoni’; they are termed ‘falsi’ [false].

In the preface to his collection of *falsobordoni*, one of the few collections of this type,¹⁵ published in Venice in 1575, Giovanni Matteo Asola describes the ‘universal joy and contentment and pleasure’ of the people within the churches listening to the psalms sung in *falsobordone*:

nondimeno pare che con grande agevolezza e soavità de’ Cantori, ed universal *contento, allegrezza, e satisfazione de’ popoli* nelle Chiese di Dio si ascoltino [i salmi] espressi co’l mezzo de’ Falsi Bordoni.

it seems nevertheless that [the psalms] rendered by means of *falsobordoni* are performed with great ease and enjoyment by the singers, and to the general contentment, joy, and satisfaction of the people in the churches of God.

¹⁴ Banchieri Adriano, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna, Rossi: 1609) 18. This passage is taken up by such other authors as Antimo Liberati, who, however, changes a preposition and thus subtly alters the meaning of the sentence: ‘Quelle cantilene *del volgo dette falsi bordoni*’ (‘The chanting of the common people, called “falsi bordoni”’); see Liberati Antimo, *Epitome della musica* (c.1666), Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, ms. D.92/A.

¹⁵ Macchiarella, *Il falsobordone fra tradizione orale e tradizione scritta* (Lucca: 1995) 186ff.

Similar statements are to be found within the small corpus of theoretical treatises that mention the *falsobordone*. It is Pietro Cerone in *El melopeo y maestro* (1619), however, who first states that psalm singing in the Spanish kingdoms is performed only in *falsobordone*:¹⁶

en estos Reynos de España, no es en uso el cantar los Salmos en Musica, si no à Fabordones.

in these Spanish realms, it is not the custom to sing the psalms in composed polyphony, but rather as *falsobordoni*.

After a few pages, he mentions the *falsobordone* again, this time in connection with secular music. He stipulates that in the composition of *chanzonetas*, lyrics should be set homorhythmically, with neither contrapuntal artifices nor varied musical inventions, while the *frottola* and *strambotti* require close, easy, and popular consonances, in the style of *falsobordone*:

Para componer las Chanzonetas ó Cancioncillas con su verdadera orden, adviertan de usar en la Composicion unos acompañamientos de Consonancias naturales; formando con ellas unos cantares ayrosos, alegres, apartados, polidos, graciosos, y ligeros ó diminuydos: pronunciando las palabras casi juntamente con todas las partes. Aquí no ha de aver artificio de Contrapuntos, ni variedad de invenciones, como en los Madrigales, si no intervalos consonantes bien ordenados [...] Mas digo, que su proprio es cantar a tres bozes solamente (por quanto assi tiene mas del natural) muy distantes y muy apartadas [...] Mas las Frotolas y Estrambotes quieren las Consonancias mas unidas, mas faciles, y mas populares: quieren ser ordenadas con cantares aldeanos y grosseros: piden unos acompañamientos simples y muy toscos: como es haziendo cantar las partes con cantares unisonados à modo de Fabordon.¹⁷

In order to compose *chanzonetas* or *cancioncillas* in the right way, you are advised to use in the composition some accompaniments of natural

¹⁶ Cerone Pietro, *El melopeo y maestro, tractado de musica theorica y practica* (Naples, Gargano e Nucci: 1613) 689. Born in Bergamo in 1566, Cerone spent part of his youth in Sardinia, mainly in Oristano, where he was a singer at the cathedral from 1588 to 1592. See Mele G., "La Musica", in Manconi F. (ed.), *La società sarda in età spagnola* (Cagliari: 2003) 222–237, at 231. Even in the absence of documentary evidence, it seems fair to assume that Cerone was exposed to orally transmitted musical practices during his stay in Sardinia.

¹⁷ Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* 693.

consonances, forming melodies with them that are pleasant, joyful, divided, polished, gracious, light or diminished, declaiming the words almost simultaneously in all parts. Here there is no need for contrapuntal artifice or variety of inventions as in madrigals, but rather consonant intervals well ordered [...] Moreover, its nature demands only three voices (being thus more natural) that are spaced well apart [...] *Frottola* and *strambotti*, however, need consonances that are closer, easier, and more popular; they want to be grouped with rustic and profane songs; they require simple and unpolished accompaniments, just as singing the parts in unison songs in the manner of *falsobordone*.

Other clues may be found in a literary source. Teofilo Folengo, for instance, in his *Baldus* (1521), written in macaronic Latin, uses the term ‘falso bordone’ in describing a vocal performance in four parts sung by the four characters of the epic tale.¹⁸ This description specifies an overlapping between the four parts, each performed by a single voice, and the leading role of the tenor voice that is accompanied by the other three voices in a harmonic combination.¹⁹

Evidence of this type allows one to argue that it was not a single composer who invented the *falsobordone*, and that the *falsobordone* was not the artifact of an erudite music milieu. On the contrary, it seems plausible to postulate processes of transcription and adaptation, and perhaps ennoblement through the notating of polyphonic practices based on triadic harmonies, practices which were orally transmitted outside the cathedral schools, yet which became known to erudite musicians. While sporadic and indirect evidence of these practices can be found in written sources dating from the sixteenth century, their earlier presence seems more than probable. One is reminded of the *villanella*, whose origins are to be traced back to the process of imitation and borrowing in street and countryside practices in the kingdom of Naples²⁰ and of other contemporary phenomena characterized by the interaction between oral and written practices.²¹

¹⁸ Folengo Teofilo, *Opus macaronicorum* (1521), Macaronea xx. The Benedictine Folengo (1491–1544) was a singular figure, an intellectual and literary man, musician, and music expert. See Bernardi Perini G. – Marangoni C. (eds.), *Teofilo Folengo nel quinto centenario della nascita* (1491–1991) (Florence: 1993).

¹⁹ See Macchiarella I., “Oralità e scrittura nel falsobordone”, in Nattiez J.-J. (ed.), *Enciclopedia della musica*, vol. 5: *L'unità della musica* (Turin: 2005) 414–434.

²⁰ See Cardamone D.G., “The Debut of the Canzone Villanesca alla Napolitana”, *Studi Musicali* 4 (1975) 65–75.

²¹ See Macchiarella, “Oralità e scrittura”; Fiorentino G., “La música de ‘hombres y mugeres que no saben de música’: polifonía de tradición oral en el renacimiento español”, *Revista de Musicología* 31, 1 (2008) 9–39; idem, “Cantar por uso” and ‘cantar fabordón’: The

The matter of origins cannot be resolved at the moment, and perhaps it is not so relevant. Outside the 'great musical tradition', musical practices do not have an origin in the common sense of the word, and in the domain of oral music making it is impossible to pinpoint a precise genesis.²² What must be emphasized, however, is that the *falsobordone* was highly popular and widespread during the early modern era.²³ Yet musical reasons alone do not explain the *falsobordone*'s success. A further reason is that the *falsobordone* offered a possible solution to the problem of the intelligibility of sacred texts in polyphony that was identified during the deliberations of the Council of Trent (1545–1563). A concern for the intelligibility of the text is evident in Paolo Ferrarese's *Passiones, lamentationes, responsoria, Benedictus, Miserere, multaque alia devotissima cantica ad officium Hebdomadae Sanctae pertinentia* (Venice, Girolamo Scotto: 1565) [Example 14.4 above]. Published in the wake of the Council, it is the oldest printed source in which the word *falsobordone* appears. In his preface, the author appeals to the criterion of text intelligibility when comparing his own compositions and the chaotic noise that often characterized the polyphony heard during Holy Week.²⁴

[...] mi ha persuaso [a stampare queste musiche] la memoria ch'io ho d'un ragionamento che V.S.R. mi fece [...] [quando] mi raccontò con quanta noia [...] avesse udito la Settimana Santa in Perugia et in Arezzo

'Unlearned' Tradition of Oral Polyphony in Renaissance Spain (and beyond)", *Early Music* 43, 1 (2015) 23–35.

²² See Molino J., "Che cos'è l'oralità musicale", in Nattiez, *Enciclopedia della musica*, vol. 5: *L'unità della musica* 367–414.

²³ According to Bradshaw, 'the Falsobordone was not the most sophisticated of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century genres, but it was certainly among the most popular [...] Falsobordoni originated around 1480 in the peninsular lands of Italy, Spain, and Portugal': Bradshaw M.C., "Performance Practice and the Falsobordone", *Performance Practice Review* 10, 2 (1997) 224–247, at 224–225, <http://scholarship.claremont.edu/ppr/volio/iss2/6>. Recent research, both by the French FABRICA project (FAux-BouRdon, Improvisation et Contrepoint mental) and by colleagues such as the above mentioned Giuseppe Fiorentino in Murcia and Cantabria, has brought to light a plethora of sources in the Iberian Peninsula, in France, and elsewhere, highlighting other aspects of the 'popular' origins of the *falsobordone*, and reinforcing its link with oral music practices. On the FABRICA project, sponsored by the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche, see Canguilhem P., "Le projet FABRICA: Oralité et écriture dans les pratiques polyphoniques du chant ecclésiastique (xvi^e–xx^e siècle)", *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 2, 2 (2010) 272–281.

²⁴ The source is analyzed in Kendrick R.L., *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington – Indianapolis: 2014) 73–76.

le Lamentazioni di Geremia Profeta, con tante gorghe, e con tante molitudini di voci, che le erano parute più tosto un confuso strepito e romore, ch'una distinta musica e pietosa e divota, come si conviene in quei santi giorni che si rappresenta la passione e morte di Gesù Cristo nostro Signore [...] [così] ho fatto istampare queste, colme non meno di pietà e di divozione che di soavità e dolcezza, musicali composizioni, nelle quali il canto è così bene accomodato alle parole, e ciascuna d'esse ed ogni sua parte vi si sente in modo distinta ed espressa, che non se ne perde pur un minimo accento: e pare che non da un uomo mortale, ma da un Angelo di Paradiso sia stato formato.

I was convinced [to print these musical works] by the memory of a conversation with Your Reverend Lordship²⁵ [...] [when] you told me how bothered [...] you were by listening to the [Offices of] Holy Week in Perugia and the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah in Arezzo, sung with so many embellishments [*gorghe*] and by so many voices that they seemed rather more a confused clamor and a noise than a decorous, touching, and devout music, as is appropriate in those holy days when the Passion and death of Jesus Christ our Lord is represented [...] [Thus,] I printed these musical compositions, as full of piety and devotion as of pleasantness and sweetness; in them, the singing is so well accommodated to the words, and each word and each part are so distinctly audible and well articulated that not a single accent is lost: indeed, this singing seems composed not by a mortal man, but by an angel from Heaven.

As a relatively inclusive polyphonic practice that broadened musical participation beyond the confines of a small group of highly-specialized singers, the *falsobordone* played a role analogous to that of the Lutheran chorale. Indeed, *falsobordone* brought polyphonic religious singing to places that were far from urban cathedrals and churches with their groups of dedicated professional singers. Chief among those Fathers of the Council who were committed to this end, was Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, who, between 1566–1584, directly inspired the collections of religious music by authors like Simone Boyleau, Agostino Resta, Valerio Bona, Vincenzo Ruffo, and Orfeo Vecchi, all of which included large sections of *falsobordoni*.²⁶ In other words, the *falso-*

²⁵ The same source tells us that he was Don Andrea Pampuro, Abbot of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice and President of the Congregazione di Montecassino.

²⁶ See Macchiarella, “Oralità e scrittura” 418ff. See also Filippi D.V., “Carlo Borromeo e la musica ‘a lui naturalmente grata’”, in Addamiano A. – Luisi F. (eds.), *Atti del Congresso*

bordone may have been thought of as a tool to enhance the special sense of solemnity offered by polyphony, reaching even the most remote rural churches and communities. Within the climate of post-Tridentine rebirth the *falsobordone* became one of the favored instruments of acculturation of the reformed Catholic Church.

Part of this impressive project of systematic acculturation was achieved by the overhaul and reorganisation of the institution of the confraternity, now losing the elitist character of its medieval origins to become a place for the religious devotion of common people. While new confraternities were erected everywhere, even in the smallest rural villages, they were closely monitored by the ecclesiastical hierarchy.²⁷ The new foundations were conceived as a direct emanation of mother confraternities which were established in Rome. Subsidiary confraternities thus adopted the statutes of their Roman founding institution and were placed under the supervision of local bishops. In this way the Church was guaranteed a powerful means of control over every aspect of the religious practice of the faithful.

The regular clergy played a crucial role both in the diffusion of the confraternities and in the organization and control of their internal activity. This activity included an extensive use of music, both as a collective devotional practice and as a practice reserved for specialized choirs, trained by learned confreres who were locally educated within *scholae cantorum* that were explicitly provided for in many confraternal statutes.

Certainly, the *falsobordone* was an instrument of clerical musical activity within the confraternities, as is demonstrated by several written sources, including diaries, chronicles and *manuali* (guides). In his *Manuale choricanum ab utriusque sexus choricistis concupitum* (Genoa, G.M. Farroni: 1649) [Fig. 14.2], for instance, the Minor Conventual Agostino Casoni makes explicit mention of the *falsobordone* when dealing with the music activity, ‘omnibus necessarium et maxime iuvenibus’ (necessary for everyone, and above all for young people).

Evidence concerning the use of the *falsobordone* in the second half of the sixteenth century is derived largely from the archives of the Roman mother

Internazionale di Musica Sacra in occasione del Centenario di fondazione del PIMS, Roma, 26 maggio–1 giugno 2011, 3 vols. (Vatican City: 2013) II, 665–676.

²⁷ We have no precise account of this process of the spread of the confraternity. In the mid-eighteenth century the erudite Ludovico Antonio Muratori writes that in Italy there is no village, hamlet, castle or villa where there are not one or more confraternities which were erected to sing God's and the saints' praises and for religious devotion, implying that they also had a social relevance which he did not appreciate: see Muratori Ludovico Antonio, *Antiquitates italicae Medii Aevi* (Milan, Pasquali: 1751) 592ff.



*Sù le note quadre si canta la
maggior parte del Salmo.*

FIGURE 14.2 Falsobordone from *Giovanni Agostino Casoni, Manuale choricanum ab utriusque sexus choricistis concupitum* (Genoa, G.M. Farroni: 1649).

confraternities, and from confraternities operating in the heart of the major cities.²⁸ Furthermore, evidence of this polyphonic practice—short musical

²⁸ See O'Regan N., "Roman Confraternities and Their Oratories 1550–1600", in Pompilio A. et al. (eds.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 3 vols. (Turin: 1990) III, 891–898. Unfortunately, at least in Italy, confraternal archives of the peripheral urban centers were largely confiscated and have been lost or were destroyed after the temporary legal abolition of the confraternity as an institution at the turn of the twentieth century. Now and then, some documents do emerge in regional centers, notably in Sardinia and Corsica: in Santu Lussurgiu, for instance, Mario Corona (one of the contemporary confrere-singers of the

units with the sequence chord-cadenza-return to the initial chord—without the explicit designation of *falsobordone* is widespread in musical sources belonging to and used by the regular clergy of the time, and above all by such religious orders that were most active in southern and insular Europe as the Franciscans and the Jesuits.²⁹ Thus, we can presume that the *falsobordone* was an instrument that allowed *gente bassa et idiota* (lower class and ignorant people, to borrow a phrase from Vincenzo Giustiniani)³⁰ to perform un-notated polyphony within the framework of confraternity life.

A Fruitful and Fertile Linkage between Past and Present

The lay confraternity stands, therefore, as a direct link between the contemporary practice of orally transmitted religious music in Sardinia, Corsica and elsewhere, and the historical practice of *falsobordone*. Our exploration of this relationship takes us in two directions. On the one hand, we seek to define the characteristics that distinguish confraternal practice from other contemporary musical practices in the same areas of Sardinia. On the other, we aim to develop new hypotheses about the performance habits connected with the historical written sources of *falsobordone* and, by extension, with the music sources outside or on the borderline with regard to the ‘great tradition of music’ of the time. These hypotheses can then contribute to the ongoing debate about reconstructing the soundscapes of Early Modern Catholicism.³¹ This unique and promising path of research is part of a more general reflection about the interaction of orality and written culture in early modern music. It is one that I believe has not yet demonstrated its full potential.

confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary) located the confraternity expenses registers for the first half of the seventeenth century. They demonstrate the presence of at least one specialized confraternal choir charged with performing during the Holy Week paraliturgies: see Corona M., *Sa Cunfraria de su Rosariu de Santu Lussurzu: memorie e fonti storiche* (Cagliari: 2012).

- ²⁹ See for instance Kennedy T.F., “Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years”, *Studi Musicali* 17, 1 (1988) 71–100. See also Majorana B., “Musiche voci e suoni nelle missioni rurali dei gesuiti italiani (XVI–XVIII secolo)”, in Nanni S. (ed.), *La musica dei semplici: L’altra Controriforma* (Rome: 2012) 125–154.
- ³⁰ Giustiniani Vincenzo, *Discorso sopra la musica de suoi tempi* (1628), quoted in Solerti A., *Le origini del melodramma* (Turin: 1903) 120.
- ³¹ See Daniele V. Filippi, “The Soundscape of Italian Catholicism, c.1600”, unpublished keynote address at the conference ‘Music for Liturgy and Devotion in Italy around 1600’ (The University of Manchester, November 2016).

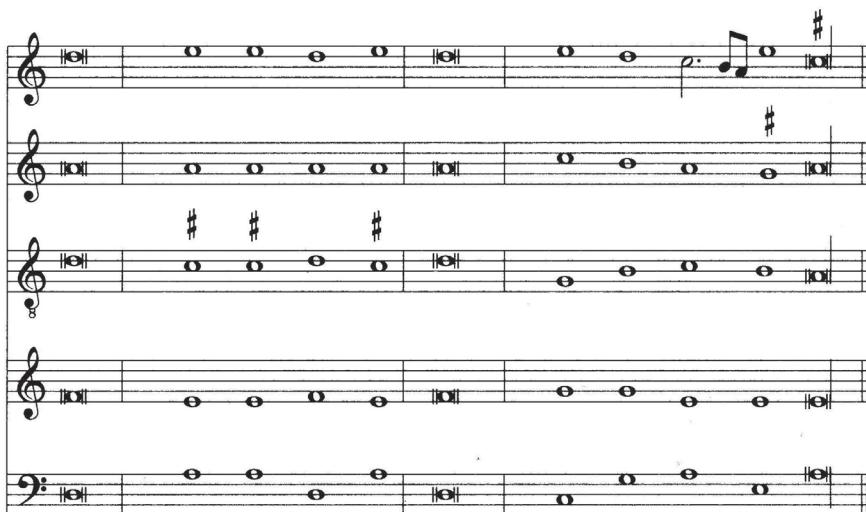
If we consider music as a mere combination of notes, both today's confraternal practices and the historical *falsobordone* can be relegated to the category of simple music: very short phrases, a restricted chordal repertory, narrow voice ranges, the virtual absence of a clearly determined rhythmical structure, and so on.³² Yet this is not simple music; its complexity is to be found in elements of its performance, and in other parameters. While traditional transcriptions of Sardinian and Corsican multipart singing reveal a form of rudimentary polyphony, they are incapable of representing its most characteristic feature: vocal timbre. In fact, the most characteristic features of this multipart singing (from Sardinia to Corsica and Sicily) lie in the quality of the sound emission, in the refined timbre of the single voices, and the distinguished amalgam coming from the interaction between the four voices. These are features that no music writing is able to represent.³³

For their part, the written sources of *falsobordone* cannot be read as highly prescriptive. At best, they offer generic indications for performers, providing a sort of skeletal notation analogous to musical stenography [Example 14.5]. It is highly doubtful, if not unthinkable, that the notated *falsobordoni* were sung as they are notated. If nothing else, the initial and the final section of the phrase, that is, the recitation on a single chord, could not have had a strictly regular rhythm. Rather, rhythm would have been dictated by the varying lengths of the syllables with their relative accentuation. The *falsobordoni* shown in Figure 14.2 and Example 14.5 give no underlaid text and the one transcribed in Example 14.4 gives text underlay for the first verse of Psalm 50 while indicating that the following verses are to be sung to the same music ('sic cantentur alij versus'). In practice, the notation of a single *falsobordone* could give rise to a much greater variety of real sonic results than most other written musics of the same period.

Mutatis mutandis, the low prescriptive character of the written *falsobordoni* is analogous in essence to the mnemonic traces of orally transmitted performances. They work as conventional representations of the frame of the musical

³² This 'simplicity' was criticized by the cultivated ears of the historical 'great tradition'. The Roman nobleman Pietro della Valle, for example, in *Della musica dell'età nostra che non è punto inferiore anzi è migliore di quella dell'età passata* (1640), found 'disgusting' the idea that the singing in Roman churches should be restricted to the *falsobordoni* (see Bradshaw, *The Falsobordone*, and Macchiarella, *Il falsobordone*). A paradigmatic interpretation of the sonic variety connected with religious sources in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is offered by Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*.

³³ In fact, in Sardinia some academic musicians (both singers and instrumentalists) perform the transcriptions of the Santu Lussurgiu *cantu a concordu* or other similar ones in concert. The result is a naïve sequence of chords, completely lacking in musical quality.



EXAMPLE 14.5 *Vincenzo Ruffo, Falsobordone settimo (tuono)*, from Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, ms. Q12.

outcomes, from which every time, in the *hic et nunc* of performance, different sounds arise. In both cases the sound outcome is and was significantly different from its visual-graphic representation on the staff.

As for performance, the sources of *falsobordone* can also be interpreted by means of the 'stop-and-go' pattern that I proposed for contemporary confraternal multipart singing. Especially in the cases of psalm performance, the pattern could include a solo incipit followed by polyphony, or forms of alternation (*alternatim*) between verses performed monodically and verses sung in polyphony. While these performance strategies are sometimes explained in such music sources as Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms. 1.3 (see a transcription in Example 14.6), they can be inferred from other written sources. For instance, in 1603, the organist Pompeo Signorucci wrote that he had heard, in different cities, performances with an alternation of verses in *falsobordone* and organ.³⁴ Clearly, the aim of these alternations was to avoid a monotonous performance, especially during the singing of the Vespers psalms, continuously renewing the attention of performers and listeners. Such strategies can be observed in

³⁴ Signorucci Pompeo, *Salmi, falsi bordoni e motetti a tre voci* (Venice, Vincenti: 1603): 'aver sentito in alcune città [...] ora cantarsi nell'organo un verso di musica, or uno di falsi bordoni ne' salmi del Vespro'.

The image shows four staves of musical notation. The top three staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music consists of short vertical dashes representing note heads. Below each staff, there is a line of Latin text:

- Top staff: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam
- Middle staff: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam
- Bottom staff: Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam
- Bottom bass staff: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam

EXAMPLE 14.6 *'Ad laudes ps. prim. 8 toni'*, Miserere, from Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms. 1.3 (first half of the sixteenth century).

contemporary Holy Week confraternal paraliturgies in Corsica,³⁵ in villages in the Pyrenees,³⁶ and elsewhere.

The sources offer scant clues about the performing groups who sang *falsobordoni* and the manner in which they were sung. We do not know, for instance, if the single vocal parts were each sung by a single voice or by more than one voice in unison. The flexibility of the *falsobordone* structure allows us to think that both solutions were possible. Contemporary confraternal multipart practices suggest that this is a crucial point. In fact, when one part is performed by a single voice there are complex processes of personalization of the music, because every singer is responsible for what he does. Each singer is the sound he produces when he sings, so that through performance Sardinian singers continuously represent and enact, enhancing or putting into question, their inter-individual relationships and thus their place in the social life of the village.³⁷ Thus the quality and the musicality of each performer has a decisive and substantial impact in the sound production. Practically speaking, if a singer does something wrong, his fault falls on the others, whereas if he does well he takes the credit for it. In short, as the Sardinian singers love to say, 'one who sings cannot pretend' ('chi canta non può fingere').

35 See Macchiarella, *Tre voci per pensare il mondo*.

36 See Castéret J.-J., *La polyphonie dans les Pyrénées gasconnes: tradition, évolution, résilience* (Paris: 2012).

37 See Macchiarella, "Exploring Micro-Worlds".

This decisive feature was not considered in early modern written sources; one can only find indirect or generic allusions to it by reading between the lines of the texts. For instance, when dealing with the *falsobordone*, the singer Antimo Liberati (1666) suggests that each individual singer in the Cappella Sistina choir has a vocal quality of his own.³⁸ In his opinion, these singers are able to sing ‘senza segno, o moto alcuno di battuta’ (‘without signs or measure’) and ‘sanno, o con la tardità o con la velocità necessaria, compassar e distribuire in modo la cantilena’ (‘either with slowness or with celerity, as necessary, they can carefully measure and properly arrange the singing’) so that they are able to ‘componere all’improvviso e come si dice far contrappunto alla mente come se fosse scritta’ (‘to compose extemporaneously and to make *contrappunto alla mente* as if it were written’). Thus, every singer is able to ‘metter in pratica quello che da altri Musici e Cantori non è in uso’ (‘put into practice what other musicians and singers are not able to sing’).³⁹

At the same time, it seems clear that the variability in sound outcomes is dependent upon local customs and local traditions. This is a frequent *topos* in the historical sources: for instance, according to Vincenzo Giustiniani (1628) experience shows that in every nation, province or city there is a different way of singing, and that in Italy each place has a different *modo* and *aria*.⁴⁰ This

³⁸ Liberati, *Epitome della musica*.

³⁹ Other relevant indications can be gained from literary fiction, as in the description of multipart performances by Folengo quoted above, where the individual voices are characterized by adjectives or allusions.

⁴⁰ ‘Ogni nazione, ogni provincia, anzi ogni città, ha un modo di cantare differentissimo ciascuno dall’altro, e di qui viene quel dettato volgare, *Galli cantant, Hispani ululant, Germani boant, Itali plorant*. Anzi di più, nell’istessa Italia, da un luogo all’altro, si conosce vario il modo e l’aria, come per esempio l’aria *Romanesca* è singolare e riputata bellissima e per tutto si canta con molto diletto, come esquisita ed atta a ricevere ogni sorte di ornamento, ed accompagnata con ogni tuono e con gran facilità; e così l’aria detta *Fantinella*. In Sicilia sono arie particolari e diverse secondo i diversi luoghi, perché in Palermo sarà un’aria, in Messina un’altra, un’altra in Catania ed un’altra in Siracusa. Il simile nelle altre città e luoghi di quel regno; e così negl’altri luoghi d’Italia, come in Genova, Milano, Firenze, Bergamo, Urbino, Ancona, Foligno e Norcia; ed ho voluto specificare questi luoghi come per esempio, tralasciatone molti altri per andar restringendo il discorso’ (‘Every nation, every province, indeed every city, has a completely different way of singing, as the saying goes: “The French sing, the Spaniards wail, the Germans roar, the Italians weep”. What is more, in Italy itself the *modo* and *aria* vary from place to place. The *aria Romanesca*, for instance, is peculiar and reputed most beautiful; it is sung everywhere with great delight, as exquisite and apt to be ornamented and accompanied in many ways with great facility, and similarly the *aria* called *Fantinella*. In Sicily there are particular *arie*, different from place to place: so there will be one *aria* in Palermo, another in Messina, an-

kind of variability has a crucial relevance in orally transmitted music making in general, and in particular in such contemporary confraternal practices as those represented by the concept of *traggiu* in Sardinia, *nota* in Sicily, *versu* in Corsica, and so on. These concepts concern both technical preferences—in terms of movement of the parts, rhythms, ornamentation techniques, timbre and color of the sound emission, and so on—and the symbolic representation of the music practice, which is perceived as a result of the musical uniqueness of every village, and thereby of the assumed uniqueness of its inhabitants' way of life.

If the *falsobordone* was widespread within religious music practice, it was also performed in the secular sphere. Indeed, it was likely a sort of elaboration of the music habits of everyday life. As mentioned before, the first written traces of the *falsobordone* come from southern Europe, from the region where the principle of oral chordal polyphony still exists in the secular music practices of today. In other places, for instance in northern Italy, where local secular multipart singing is based on the different mechanism of parallel movements, the *falsobordone* was surely imported thanks to both the confraternities and the missionary work of the regular clergy, yet its performance has disappeared throughout time.⁴¹

This enquiry opens up further avenues for studies encompassing both historical sources and contemporary music making, which could also opportunity address the issue of the relationship between sacred and secular in music. According to today's performers, confraternal multipart singing is a sort of a hotchpotch.⁴² In fact, today's confrere-singers do not speak in terms of a clear dichotomy between sacred and secular. For them, there are different community spaces emblematised respectively by the oratorio and by the *tzilleri* or *maganisu*, that is, the tavern or wine cellar where people gather after a day's work. They are two interrelated aspects of a unique shared cultural experience; the crucial factor is time. The time of the sacred sphere is not the same as that of the secular sphere. Yet at the basis of these different spheres there is the same belonging to the same *traggiu*, or the idea of uniqueness of the village's way of life. Multipart singing symbolizes this. The same music mechanism works for

other in Catania, and another in Syracuse. Similarly in the other cities and places of that realm; and so in other Italian localities such as Genoa, Milan, Florence, Bergamo, Urbino, Ancona, Foligno, and Norcia. I have mentioned these as examples, omitting many other cities for the sake of brevity'). Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica de suoi tempi* 112–113.

⁴¹ This point is treated in Macchiarella, *Il falsobordone* 10–24.

⁴² Macchiarella, *Cantare a cuncordu* 122. Antonio Miglieli, one of the Santu Lussurgiu confrere-singers, uses the word *miscuglio*.

singing both praise to God and sorrow for Christ's Passion, but also for singing the beauty of a girl or the pleasure of drinking wine. They are two sides of the same coin. This interlacing between sacred and secular through the common basis of multipart practice cannot be disentangled. Amusement is part of the ritual devotion just as there is something 'sacred' in the conventions of everyday life, including the peculiar rituality of sharing a glass of wine.⁴³ With all due distinctions, an analogous interlacing was experienced through the *falsobordone*, whose music pattern was recognized and practiced in both sacred and secular times and spaces.

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43 See Lortat-Jacob B., *Canti di passione* (Lucca: 1996).

Sounds from Fortresses of Faith and Ideal Cities: Society, Politics, and Music in Missionary Activities in the Americas, 1525–1575

Egberto Bermúdez

1

Fray Martín de Valencia (c.1474–1534), in a letter addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) and sent from the Franciscan convent in Mexico City in November 1532, emphasizes the importance of music in his acculturative program for Mexican Amerindians. He describes how the sons of caciques and families of the elite, in addition to being tutored in plainchant and polyphony, were taught to attend the liturgy and were instructed in the basics of Christian life and behavior. A month earlier, in a similar letter, Franciscan lay brother Pieter van der Moere (c.1480–1572, a.k.a. Pedro de Gante or Pedro de Mura) boasted that Indian singers trained at the Franciscan convent were so accomplished that they could even sing at the Emperor's Chapel. Indeed, he invited Charles himself, whom he apparently knew personally, to come and hear them.¹

At the end of the century (1596), another Franciscan friar and historian, Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604), describes the practical methods of music teaching used by his fellow Franciscans. He identifies Juan Caro, an old friar and music specialist who—stubbornly, patiently, and speaking only in Spanish—transmitted technical knowledge of plainchant and polyphonic music theory to Indian converts who rapidly began teaching it to others.² Juan de Torquemada (c.1562–1624), writing around 1611, corroborates this and adds that by 1540, Caro—besides teaching them music—baptized more than a

¹ Stevenson R., *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley: 1968) 157. This is the best account of European music acculturation of the Amerindians in Mexico, Peru, and other areas, especially compared to such recent but sparsely documented works as Cristina Urchueguía, “La colonización musical de Hispanoamérica”, in Gómez M. (ed.), *Historia de la Música en España e Hispanoamérica, 2: De los Reyes Católicos a Felipe II* (Madrid: 2012) 463–502.

² Mendieta Gerónimo de, *Historia eclesiástica india*, ed. J. García Icazbalceta (México: 1870), book IV, ch. XIV, 412.

hundred thousand of the 'six million' Indians he estimated the Franciscans had by then Christianized.³ In addition to Caro, there were other musically trained Franciscans. Among them was Martin Sarmiento de Hajocastro (d.1557) who came to Mexico in 1538 and who was recognized as both an organist and as a singer with a 'clear and sonorous voice'.⁴ The various accounts written almost a century after their arrival in Mexico devoted special chapters to music, emphasizing the prominent role of musical practice and musical instruments in the Franciscans' early acculturative program in Mexico.

The optimistic reports issued in the mid 1530s were the result of almost a decade of Westernization and Christianization of the Mexican elite that featured musical training as one of its central aspects. It was a totally different situation to that of May/June 1520 when—betraying the confidence of captive Emperor Moctezuma II (c.1466–1520)—the Spaniards persuaded him to invite the best of his noblemen, lords, notables, and captains to participate in the Festival of Toxcatl (in honor of Huitzilopochtli) where they would be assassinated.⁵ The result was an assault in which the Spanish headquarters were laid siege by Cuauhtemoc (c.1495–1525), young Lord of Tlatelolco and a relative of Moctezuma II, who was defeated in 1521 but remained nominally as ruler until Cortés took him as part of his ill-fated journey to Honduras where he was accused of treason and executed in 1525. In August 1523 the first three Franciscans—all Flemish and one of whom was the lay brother Van der Moere—and in 1524 the 'twelve' headed by Valencia, arrived in Mexico where they taught those young children of the elite Mexica who had survived the massacre.⁶ Conditions were totally inauspicious as their work was made slow by death, destruction, famine, severe droughts, and floods.

Initial Franciscan efforts were followed by other experiments in acculturation that manifested the Spanish government's reformist intentions. In 1526

³ Torquemada Juan de, *Monarquía Indiana; de los veinte y un libros rituales y monarquía india* (Madrid, Nicolás Rodríguez: 1723) III, book XVI, ch. VIII, 156. See book XVII, ch. III, 213–214, for quotations from Mendieta on music and musical instruments.

⁴ García Icazbalceta J., "Al lector", in idem (ed.), *Códice Franciscano. Siglo XVI*, Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México 2 (México: 1889) xii. All translations into English are the author's except where otherwise stated.

⁵ See Scolieri P.A., *Dancing the New World: Aztec, Spaniards, and the Choreography of Conquest* (Austin, TX: 2013) 90–126.

⁶ Van der Moere's companions in 1523 were Johann Deckers (c.1476–1525; a.k.a. Jean Couvreur, Juan de Tecto or Juan de Techo) and Johan van der Auwera (d.1525; a.k.a. Juan de Aora or Juan de Ayora). See Acker G. van, "Het christelijk humanisme in Mexico: De drie Vlamingen", *Franciscana* 48 (1993) 143–161; on Van der Moere (Gante) see de la Torre Villar E., "Fray Pedro de Gante, maestro civilizador de América", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 5 (1974) 2–81.

for instance, several communications were sent to the Consejo de Indias from settlers in Mexico with the aim of improving governability. In one, it is suggested that the ‘dances and entertainments’ of the Indians should not be banished unless they were dedicated to their ‘idols’.⁷ The principal demand was the establishment of an *audiencia*, and one was duly established the following year.⁸ The first major reforms were implemented later by the second *audiencia* of 1530. It was headed by Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal (c.1490–1547), former Bishop of Santo Domingo, and its *oidor* (judge) was Vasco de Quiroga (c.1477/78–1565), later to be consecrated bishop.

In 1533, Quiroga wrote to the Consejo de Indias proposing the establishment of hospital-towns based on the concept of ‘ideal cities’, a project developed in Mexico and Michoacán during the 1530s.⁹ Quiroga, however, was not the first to be influenced by the thinking of Thomas More (1478–1535) and his *Utopia* (1516) as a solution to the new situation in America. As Wagner points out, Bartolomé de las Casas’s (1480–1566) proposal of 1516 addressed to the Regent Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (c.1436–1517) shared these same origins.¹⁰ In his “Regla y Ordenanzas”, Quiroga insisted on an ideal society for Indians with an emphasis on the teaching of trades (*oficios mecánicos*) beginning with agriculture—which he considered by far the most important—followed by the work of carpenters, masons, bricklayers, and smiths. As for entertainment, he specifically forbade the body painting that was widely practiced in Amerindian cultures. He mentioned the Exaltation of the Cross as the most important of their prescribed festivities followed by those of the Virgin, St. Michael and the Holy Savior. Unfortunately, the document is incomplete at this point and we do not know if there were any specific directions concerning songs, music or dance.¹¹

The Augustinians had arrived in Michoacán in 1537 and Quiroga, as bishop, became their patron. He allowed them to develop *doctrinas* in such ‘tierra caliente’ (or lower-valley) villages as Tiripetío, Taracuaró, and later Charo, where,

7 “Memorial sobre asuntos de buen gobierno que un desconocido hizo por orden del Emperador”, in Cuevas M. (ed.), *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México* (México: 1914) 1–4, at 3. This is in fact a collated series of notes extracted from several documents concerning the government of New Spain and sent to the court around 1526.

8 Seville, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Patronato, 184, 2, s.f.

9 Aguayo Spencer R., “Estudio preliminar”, in idem, *Don Vasco de Quiroga, pensamiento jurídico y antología*, ed. J.L. Soberanes (México: 1986) 19–65, at 33.

10 Wagner H., *The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas* (Albuquerque, NM: 1967) 261–262.

11 “Regla y Ordenanzas para el gobierno de los hospitales de Santa Fe de México y Michoacán”, in Aguayo Spencer, *Don Vasco de Quiroga* 220–240.

since the late 1530s, vocal and instrumental music had received special attention. Catholic prayers were translated into indigenous languages and were set to music using ‘easy melodies’ (*tonos fáciles*) or those of the ‘hymns of the Church’ that they especially liked. In schools, in their *doctrinas*, and in distant settlements—through deputy instructors—they trained children as choirboys (*tiples*) and amanuenses (*escribanos*), and music rose to particular prominence during the feast days prescribed in Quiroga’s rule. Major festivals, in particular Corpus Christi, were celebrated with trumpets, shawms, and dances and were considered worthy of inclusion in the work of Augustinian historian Basalenque, who dedicated a special section to the hospitals in his *Historia*.¹²

Through an iconographic study of the musical instruments present in their façades, Davies has shown how the architecture of Augustinian churches in Mexico adhered to Neoplatonic ideas.¹³ So it is reasonable to assume that the Augustinian acculturation project, at least in Michoacán, coincided with Quiroga’s utopian ideas. Scholars agree that early Franciscan and Dominican convents in Mexico were designed as fortresses, recalling such celestial citadels as the Jerusalem of the Apocalypse rather than resembling the European buildings in which their inhabitants had studied.¹⁴ At first glance, they seem to have been planned as fortresses of faith. However, the combination of millennialism, humanism, apocalyptic and eschatological theories, and divergent theological orientations with ‘popular’ and messianic religious movements since the beginning of the sixteenth century presents a very complex framework where no simple interpretations about the character of the ideological orientations of early missionaries in America can be sustained.¹⁵ Moreover, some of these ideas were current among early missionaries and West, together with other authors, considers that the renovating spirit of evangelization embedded in the theories of a ‘new age’ by Gioacchino da Fiore (c.1135–1202),

¹² Basalenque Diego, *Historia de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán del Orden de N. P. San Agustín* (1673) (México: 1886) 83–90.

¹³ Davies D.E., “La armonía de conversión: ángeles músicos en la arquitectura novohispana y el pensamiento agustino-neoplatónico”, in Enríquez L. – Covarrubias M. (eds.), *Los instrumentos sonoros en Iberoamérica: siglos XVI–XIX* (México: 2009) 37–63.

¹⁴ See Perry R.D., *Mexico's Fortress Monasteries* (Santa Barbara, CA: 1992) and Edgerton S.Y., *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: 2001).

¹⁵ Good summaries of the debate are: Andrés-Martín M., “En torno a las últimas interpretaciones de la primitiva acción evangelizadora Franciscana en México”, in Saranyana J.I. et al. (eds.), *Evangelización y teología en América (Siglo XVI)* (Pamplona: 1990) 1345–1370 and Zaballa Beascochea A. de, “La discusión conceptual sobre el milenarismo y el mesianismo en Latinoamérica”, *Anuario de historia de la iglesia* 10 (2001) 353–362.

along with the rich eschatological tradition and theories about the apocalyptic conversion of non-believers, are expressed by such missionaries as Motolinía¹⁶ in the hope that it would eventually become reality, thus assigning an unprecedented role to the peoples of the New World.¹⁷

Before arriving in America, Martín de Valencia, in his Observant Franciscan retreat in Extremadura, experienced visions of working among infidels while chanting the psalms. He later considered that these visions were fulfilled with his Order's work in Mexico.¹⁸ This prophesizing and providential view was transmitted to the new Amerindian converts as in the case—recalled by Motolinía—of Francisco, an elderly Lord from Cuitlahuac, surely invested with both spiritual and political power, who became a Christian and strengthened his conviction of bringing his people to conversion by a ‘sweet song with admirable words’ that he heard while paddling a canoe, and that the friars judged to be ‘a song of angels’.¹⁹

The same ideas are present, rich with historical and symbolic overtones, in the oft-quoted passage of the *Historia de los Indios* that describes the impressive 1539 Tlaxcala public performances for the Annunciation, Easter Day, and Corpus Christi. The latter also celebrated the 1538 truce of Nice between Charles V and Francis I (1494–1547), king of France. It included a re-enactment of the Conquest of Jerusalem in which trumpets, fifes, and drums solemnized the military victory of the joint armies of Spain, New Spain (Indians), and the pope over the Moors holding Jerusalem. During the *autos* (theatrical plays) performed at Easter, the chapel comprised two choirs for vocal and instrumental music where rebecs, flutes (recorders), and *xabeba* (a vertical short duct flute of Moorish ancestry) were used to imitate the sound of organs.²⁰

The presence of European instrument makers quickly spawned the appearance of local ones, and probably not only in connection with the friars' activities but also amongst the Spanish population, as seems to have happened in Michoacán and around Mexico City. Motolinía indicates that groups of ‘minstrels from Castile’ came and were distributed in Indian towns where they taught the Indians to play on their instruments and apparently to make them

¹⁶ Toribio de Benavente ‘Motolinía’ (1482–1568) was one of the twelve Franciscans who arrived in 1524.

¹⁷ West D.C., “Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission and the Early Franciscans in Mexico”, *The Americas* 45, 3 (1989) 293–313.

¹⁸ Benavente ‘Motolinía’ Toribio de, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, ed. C. Esteva Fabregat (Madrid: 2003) 154.

¹⁹ Ibid. 155.

²⁰ Ibid. 138–149.

as well. In addition to the minstrels' wind instruments (flutes, shawms, and sackbutts), he mentions the local manufacture of rebeccs (*rabel*) and viols (*vihuelas de arco*).²¹

In the early 1540s the Franciscan missionaries began to understand and describe the function of music and dance in Mexica life. In both his *Memoriales* (c.1537) and *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* (1541) Motolinía, who arrived with Martín de Valencia, offers detailed descriptions of the music teaching activities at the convent. To facilitate the learning of the Ave Maria, Pater Noster, Credo, and Salve the texts were translated into Nahuatl and were set to 'a graceful plainchant' that the indigenous people liked so much that they spent 'most of their time' singing them and teaching them to others.²² It is difficult to know precisely what Motolinía meant by a 'graceful plainchant', yet one can imagine a *contrafactum* on a popular melody or an easy melodic formula, by all accounts probably different from 'official' plainchant, either Roman or Toledan. Recent research by Grey Brothers has shown how Spanish indigenous liturgical practice or *more hispano* operated in the musical settings of texts of late sixteenth-century Mexican polyphonic Passions, where sections 'charged with emotion' were not set to traditional formulae but to plaintive and sinuous melodies differing from Roman usage.²³ Perhaps such a practice might have been available to our Franciscan friars half a century earlier?

Motolinía also describes several stages of musical adaptation and hints at the adoption of a local tradition of performance practice in the missionaries' musical work. First we find newly composed *cantares* in indigenous language about the Christian feasts, with texts translated by the missionaries and set to music by Indian music masters who adapted the poetic meter to their ancient song-dances. At Christmas, singing, *atabales*, and bells were generally used, and in the countryside, for Palm Sunday, some sang 'Benedictus qui venit' perched on trees. For Indian processions most participants were flagellants (*disciplinantes*) and some sang 'litanies and other chants of the season' but as they were many, some groups resorted to singing such less seasonally appropriate chants as the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo, and Salve that in many places they knew by heart.²⁴ Adaptation to Mexica rhythmic reciting patterns and liturgical flexibility were accepted as compromises when Christianization

²¹ Benavente 'Motolinía' Toribio de, *Memoriales*, ed. L. García Pimentel (México: 1904), ch. 59, 179.

²² *Ibid.*, ch. 13, 29.

²³ Grey Brothers M., "The More Hispano in the Polyphonic Passions of Mexico City", *Latin American Music Review* 32, 2 (2011) 205–217, at 206–207.

²⁴ Motolinía, *Memoriales*, ch. 34, 94–95.

was seen as the greater good. The adaptation of whatever musical instruments were available is another example of Franciscan flexibility in their new tasks. Motolinía indicates that ensembles of flutes were played instead of organs, and shawms (*chirimías*) of local manufacture were used in spite of being ‘poorly tuned’.²⁵

As further examples of performance practice, Motolinía describes an emotional rendering of Christian chants in which the singers even ‘pierced their chests’.²⁶ This of course appears to be linked with the self inflicted sacrificial wounds especially notorious in Mexica and Maya ritual traditions.²⁷ It was a clearly syncretic result in which Christian, and particularly ‘strict observance’ Franciscan, flagellation coincided with the Mexican auto-sacrificial ritual practice that strengthened the efficacy of the new Christian chants.

While Franciscan ‘strict observance’ directed that the Divine Offices were to be ‘said quietly with spirit and devotion or read slowly without singing anything’²⁸—thus specifically excluding chant and singing—the American situation called for different solutions, and the power of the music and dances of the Mexica *cantares* had to be confronted with the power of European music and specially designed song-dances (or dance-songs).

Garibay, quoted by Stevenson, proposed that around 1530–1531 Van der Moere composed one of the items (fols. 46v–48v) of the *Cantares mexicanos* collection, a piece with several strains of syllabic notation for accompaniment on the *teponatzli*.²⁹ After considering the evidence, however, Bierhorst believes that such a conclusion cannot be sustained.³⁰ Nevertheless, the piece is very interesting in that its title indicates that as a ‘little children’s song’ to be sung at the feast of St. Francis, it was taught to whomever the Indian informant was when ‘they were living at the church [...] and were little children’. Regardless of the attribution to Van der Moere, the recalled event can rightly be placed in the 1530s–1540s. The existence of eight strains of syllabic notation for Mexica

²⁵ Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* 158.

²⁶ Motolinía, *Memoriales*, ch. 34, 93.

²⁷ Klein C.F., “The Ideology of Autosacrifice at the Templo Mayor”, in Boone E.H. (ed.), *The Aztec Templo Mayor* (Washington, DC: 1983) 293–370.

²⁸ Andrés-Martín M., “La espiritualidad franciscana en España en tiempos de las observancias (1380–1517)”, *Studia Historica* 6 (1988) 465–479, at 476.

²⁹ Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* 93–94 and Garibay Á.M., *Historia de la literatura Nahuatl*, 2 vols. (México: 1956) II, 116 and 331.

³⁰ Bierhorst J., *Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs* (Stanford: 1985) 110–112. See no. 61 at 287–297. Facsimile reproduction in Peñaflor A. (ed.), *Cantares en idioma mexicano: Reproducción facsimilaria del manuscrito existente en la Biblioteca Nacional* (México: 1904), fols. 46v–48v.

musical instruments points to their early use by the Franciscans. It seems possible that in their first attempts Caro, Van der Moere, and his followers might have employed such elements of indigenous performance practice as accompanying dance-songs with membranophones (*huehuetl*) and idiophones (*teponaztli*) to render Christian texts and messages more effective. Moreover, the first notice of such a practice comes from Van der Moere himself, in his letters to Philip II.³¹ Additionally, Anderson identifies this particular *cantar* quoting Fray Juan Bautista, an Indian friar whose diary entries of 1566–1567 indicate that this ‘canto de niños’ was taught and sung at the church by special disposition of ‘our beloved father Pedro de Gante’. At the feast of St. Francis, he continues, it was ‘to be sung in a loud voice so the people of the city came and heard it’ and it was also danced under the direction of the Indian specialists ‘from the temple’.³²

In the period 1531 to 1537 the Dominicans, with the full backing of the community of settlers, began to doubt the Indians’ susceptibility to conversion and questioned the methods employed by the Franciscans. In the same years, led by the Franciscan Bishop Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548) who assumed inquisitorial powers, the Franciscans prosecuted a campaign against Indian idolatries. The trials of this campaign exposed the harsh realities behind their efforts because the old religion resurfaced in exactly the same locations where the Franciscans had toiled the most.³³ Besides, between 1539 and 1540, some Spaniards had initiated a campaign in search of idols, mostly motivated by greed for gold and precious stones, and similar to the ‘extirpación de idolatrías’ of Peru and Nuevo Reino de Granada in later years.³⁴ The violence of the Indian insurrections of the following decade, as I discuss below, was a direct consequence of those actions. So too was the violence with which those insurrections were suppressed.

The implementation of the *Leyes Nuevas* (New Laws) of 1542, whose purpose was the protection of the Amerindian population and the reorganization of the administrative template of the Spanish transatlantic government, ushered in a period of deep social and political turmoil that engulfed the

³¹ See “Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante al rey Don Felipe II (Principal)” and “Carta de Fray Pedro de Gante [...] (Duplicado)” in García Icazbalceta, *Códice Franciscano* 220–234, at 224 and 231, respectively.

³² See Anderson A.J.O., “Salmodia Cristiana de Sahagún”, *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 20 (1990) 17–38, at 25–27.

³³ Lopes Don P., “Franciscans, Indian Sorcerers and the Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1543”, *Journal of World History* 17, 1 (2006) 27–49, at 27.

³⁴ Ibid. 28 and Motolinía, *Memoriales*, ch. 32, 88.

American colonies. The process ended in failure and, at the same time, other conflicts arose as the consequences of the expansion of the Spanish frontier in the new territories of America and Asia, prosecuted in earnest in the 1520s and 1530s, began to be perceived realistically. Between 1544 and 1547 the *visitador* Francisco Tello de Sandoval (d.1580), sent to Mexico to implement the New Laws, succumbed to pressure from Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza (1490–1552), Bishop Zumárraga, and the City Council, and peacefully set back this legislation to please the *encomenderos*. It was not so in other regions of America, as we will see below, where the 1542 legislation met armed resistance at the hands of *encomenderos* and other groups. Moreover, generalized Indian rebellions inflamed the Americas during the same years.³⁵

In Mexico, where the Christian education of the native elite had begun earlier, Indian rebellions increasingly involved individuals who were themselves the products of missionary work. In 1542 Aqualmetztlí (1520–1542), having been baptized and educated as Ignacio Alarcon at the Franciscan College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco in Mexico City, led an insurrection in alliance with the Chichimecas. After it was defeated by Viceroy Mendoza two years later, other uprisings continued, lasting until the early 1550s as part of the Guerra del Mixtón (in the Northwestern frontier of Tenochtitlan). That war had already claimed the life of Pedro de Alvarado, perhaps the most prestigious *conquistador* besides Cortés and the instigator of the Toxcatl massacre of 1520. A resurrection of their ancestors or a new 'golden age' was promised by the Mixtón Indian leaders (shamans or ritual specialists called witches, *hechiceros*, in the original documents) who proclaimed it through messengers who taught the Indians a song (*cantar*) or recitation (*habla*) called 'tlatol of the Devil' (*tlatol del Diablo*) inciting them to leave Christianity, return to their old beliefs, and exterminate the Spaniards before suffering annihilation at their hands.³⁶ Francisco Tenamaztle (fl.1540–1555), Lord of Nochistlán and Jalisco, 'being Christian and having been raised inside the Church', was one of the leaders of this Indian rebellion.³⁷ Contemporary documents accuse the rebel Indians of having destroyed their churches, mocked the Holy Sacrament by making maize tortillas and throwing them to the air, and finally of having killed non-rebel Indians

35 See Barabas A.M., *Utopías Indias: Movimientos socioreligiosos en México* (Quito: 2000).

36 "Fragmento de la visita hecha a Don Antonio de Mendoza (1547)", in García Icazbalceta J. (ed.), *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, vol. 2 (México: 1866) 74–140; Cargo xxxv, Pregunta 132, 133 and 154, at pp. 102–103 and 108–109.

37 "Fragmento de la visita", Cargo xxxv, Pregunta 133, 103: 'siendo cristiano y criado en la iglesia'. He is also called 'brother of the Lord of Nochistan'. See also León Portilla M., *Francisco Tenamaztle* (México: 1995) 138–146.

and two Franciscan friars, one of whom was an interpreter of Nahuatl and the other, Fr. Juan de Esperanza, whose teeth they damaged so that he could not ‘utter any more words about his God with his mouth’.³⁸

The peaceful repeal of the *Leyes Nuevas* in the case of Mexico did not initially disturb the musical work of missionaries. Nevertheless, as Stevenson stressed, it was deeply affected by legislation issued between 1556 and 1565 originating from the king and the Mexican church authorities concerning the abundance of Indians dedicated to music as singers and instrumentalists.³⁹ The First Council regulations of 1556 aimed at controlling the use of wind instruments in liturgical music by restricting trumpets to processions and relegating shawms and recorders to main churches, from which smaller churches might borrow them for their own feasts. The same order banned viols (*vihuelas de arco*) and other unspecified instruments from church service to eliminate what they considered ‘thunderous noise’ and it insisted on encouraging the building of organs, the ‘ecclesiastical instrument par excellence’. The number of singers was limited to those strictly necessary, and only singers with sufficient knowledge of plainchant and polyphonic music were to be employed. Allusions to moderating and ‘ordering’ the practice of polyphony offers testimony to the Indians’ enthusiasm for the practice of European musical forms and musical instruments. The regulations recommended not only that teaching be supervised by clerics, but also that no schools be established without them.⁴⁰ The *real cédula* (royal warrant) of 1561 endorsing the Mexican Council legislation provides more information on the instruments that Indian musicians played as well as comments about their rowdy and not-very Catholic behavior. Rebecs (*rabeles*) are mentioned, in addition to viols, but the majority of the instruments were such wind instruments as several types of trumpets (clarions and possibly straight and folded ones), sackbuts, and trombones. Shawms, recorders, cornetts, dulzainas, and fifes are also mentioned.⁴¹

The 1556 Council regulations addressed the issue of Indian *cantares*. They acknowledged the continued use of *cantares*, but also showed that, thanks to the influence of missionaries, they were now part of Christian celebrations. Singers and dancers, however, were directed not to wear masks or other ritual paraphernalia and were to be examined on the contents of their songs

³⁸ “Fragmento de la visita”, Cargo xxxv, Preguntas 153, 155 and 156, 108–109.

³⁹ Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* 167–171.

⁴⁰ *Constituciones del arzobispado y provincia de la muy insigne y muy leal ciudad de Tenuxtitlán México de la Nueva España* (México, Juan Pablos: 1556), ch. 66, 34r–34v.

⁴¹ García G. (ed.), *El clero de México durante la dominación española*, Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México 15 (México: 1907), doc. LXXI, 141–142.

to ensure that all traces of their autochthonous religion had been removed. Indian painters were similarly subjected to examination in order to control the quality and the Christian contents of their works.⁴²

While emphasizing the crucial role played by song and dance in Mexica life and the professionalism of their composers, singers, instrumentalists, and dancers, Franciscan historian and ethnographer Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), writing around 1577, urged serious research into Mexica cultural practices and warned that *cantares* were potentially the most dangerous enemies of the evangelization project.⁴³ In the prefatory notes to the appendix ‘On the *cantares* of the gods’ (‘De los cantares de los dioses’) of book II of the Florentine Codex, Sahagún describes *cantares* as the ‘dark and thick forest’ where the Devil hides. He is sure that the texts, none of which the missionaries fully understand, still embrace ‘all that the Devil desires: war or peace, his own praise or plotting against Christ’.⁴⁴ That these song-dances (or dance-songs) were used by the new converts in church services is evident in the subtitle of Sahagún’s own *Psalmodia christiana* published in Mexico in 1583. Here he states that the *cantares*, analogous to psalms, are to be sung in the ‘*areitos* that the Indians perform in the churches’. In the preface, Sahagún indicates that the contents of the publication date from around 1562–1564.⁴⁵ Here, the practice of using borrowed musical materials, recycling, arranging, and revamping them, seems to have turned against the missionaries.

The deepest crisis for the Franciscans arose in Yucatán in the early 1560s; it led to the infamous *auto de fe* organized by Franciscan Bishop Diego de Landa (1524–1579) in the main plaza of Maní in 1562. Maya rebellions had been brutally repressed by the Spaniards in 1539 and 1548 but the events of 1562 were especially significant as the leaders of the resurgence of *idolatría*, including human sacrifices, were in fact local schoolteachers (*maestros*), members of the elite (*principales*), and old ritual specialists (*ah-kins*), all of whom had converted

⁴² *Constituciones del arzobispado*, ch. 72, 34v–35r and ch. 34, 28r–28v.

⁴³ Sahagún Bernardino de, *Segundo libro que trata del calendario, fiestas y ceremonias*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Codex Palatino 218, “De los cantares de los dioses”, Apéndice del Libro II, fols. 137r–137v. See <http://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/#collection=florentine-codex>.

⁴⁴ See Anderson, “*Salmodia Cristiana de Sahagún*” and Wake E., “Sacred Books and Sacred Songs from Former Days: Sourcing the Mural Paintings at San Miguel Arcángel Ixmiquilpan”, *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 31 (2000) 95–121.

⁴⁵ See Sahagún Bernardino de, *Psalmodia christiana y Sermonario de los Santos del año en lengua Mexicana [...] Ordenada en cantares o Psalmos para que canten los Indios en los areytos que hacen en las Iglesias* (Méjico, Pedro Ocharte: 1583).

to Christianity and had been taught by the Franciscans.⁴⁶ Most of these acculturated Indians were trained in plainchant, polyphony, and keyboard playing. One of them, Gaspar Antonio Chi (c.1531–c.1600), who even acted as a chapel-master, also had the misfortune of acting as notary during the Maní trials and was incarcerated for trying to help the accused.⁴⁷ The consequent bitterness and sense of revenge prompted Clendinnen to characterize the Franciscan violence as ‘unashamed’.⁴⁸

2

Early in 1556, two years before Van der Moere wrote his letters to Philip II, Joos de Rijcke (1498–1575/78), another Flemish Franciscan, reported on his cultural and musical achievements teaching the Indians at the Franciscan College of San Juan Evangelista in Quito, Ecuador.⁴⁹ In a brief letter in Latin dated 12 January 1556 and addressed to the guardian of the Franciscan Friary in Ghent, De Rijcke (a.k.a. Fray Jodoco) wrote that the local Indians ‘learn easily to read, write, and to sing and play musical instruments’.⁵⁰

Information concerning the sojourn of De Rijcke’s and his Franciscan companions in Mexico and Nicaragua at the end of 1533 and in 1534 is scarce. It seems possible that they, after arriving from Spain in 1532, formed part of, or followed, the expedition of Pedro de Alvarado from Guatemala to Ecuador and Peru in 1534 that included several Franciscans and Dominicans. The account of Dominican historian Antonio de Remesal (c.1560–1619) concerning the early acculturation efforts of his Order in Guatemala includes a description of methods similar to those used by the Franciscans in Mexico and mentioned above. In early 1537, Las Casas—even in the face of mockery and ridicule—proposed to the Spanish inhabitants of Santiago (Guatemala) that he put into practice

⁴⁶ Clendinnen I., *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatán, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: 2003) 195–209.

⁴⁷ Blom F., “Gaspar Antonio Chi, interprete”, in Xiu Gaspar Antonio, *Usos y costumbres de los indios de Yucatán* (Mérida: 2004) 26.

⁴⁸ Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests* 77.

⁴⁹ The current knowledge about De Rijcke’s life and times is summarized by De Ryck S., “Joos de Rijcke”, in *Biografisch woordenboek van de Belgen overzee*, http://www.kaowarsom.be/nl/notices_de_rrijcke_joos, and Moreno Proaño A., *Fray Jodoco Rique y Fray Pedro Gocial: Apóstoles y Maestros Franciscanos de Quito 1535–1570* (Quito: 1998).

⁵⁰ Civezza M. da, *Saggio di bibliografia geografica storica etnografica sanfrancescana* (Prato: 1879) 253: ‘Sunt ingeniosi et facile litteras addiscurt: canere item et ludere instrumentis musicis’.

the theories of pacific conversion that he detailed in his work. In May 1537, Las Casas as vicar, with a group of friars including Pedro de Angulo, Rodrigo de Ladrada, and Luis Cancer, began their tasks of evangelization in northern Guatemala (Tuzulutlán and Zacapula). Remesal tells us that all of them knew the local language but that Pedro de Angulo was apparently the most knowledgeable. Taking advantage of trade between the two regions, Las Casas encouraged some Indian merchants, already Christian, to learn *trovas* or *versos*, presumably octosyllabic quatrains, that they had composed in ‘the language of the province of Guatemala’, most probably Quiché, Kekchi or Tzutujil (all Mayan languages), dealing with the ‘creation of the world, the fall of Adam, and the banning of our first progenitors’. Later Remesal boasts that they had excelled in their task not only because they had learnt them, but also because they had embellished them, setting them ‘to music with a high melody and a lively rhythm’ in contrast to the ‘low and hoarse’ sound of the instruments used by the Indians. The ‘verses and *coplas*’ were performed for the first time by Christian merchant Indians accompanied by Spanish jingles (*sonajas*) and bells and an indigenous instrument the chronicler calls ‘teplanastle’.⁵¹ Thus the Dominicans were doing exactly the same in Guatemala as were the Franciscans in Mexico.

Writing in the 1550s, Las Casas refers to the Indian *cantares* of Honduras and Nicaragua commenting that while some were concerned with the spoils of historical wars, others were about more recent events including the ‘invasion of the Christians, their depredation, the robbery of land and gold, the kidnapping of their women and children, and even about the speed and violence of horses, the cruelty and ferocity of dogs, and the fierce efforts of the Spaniards that being so few had defeated, chased, and killed thousands’.⁵² This echoes what Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478–1557), eyewitness and historian, had chronicled as early as 1526 in his *Sumario*. There he describes the song-dances he saw on the northern coast of South America (the east of Nicaragua, Panama, and the west of Colombia). He called them *areitos*, probably already

⁵¹ Remesal Antonio de, *Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la orden de Nuestro Glorioso Padre Santo Domingo* (Madrid, Francisco de Angulo: 1619) book III, ch. xi, 124–125 and ch. xv, 135–138. Remesal uses the word ‘adornados’ (embellished) to refer to a possible glossing, expanding or improving of the original quatrains. *Teplanastle* is most probably a misspelling for *teponatztli*; Remesal describes it as ‘a hollow wooden log’ with sound-holes played with mallets.

⁵² Las Casas Bartolomé de, *Apologética historia de las Indias*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz (Madrid: 1904), ch. CXLIII, 636–637. One of the sources for this section seems to be the writings of the enigmatic Cristóbal de la Tobilla.

a Caribbean *lingua franca* term like many others. He equates them with the round song-dances of the peasants of Spain and Flanders and indicates that their content was mainly historical and epic.⁵³ In the case of the *cantares* of the inhabitants of Darién and Panama, Las Casas quotes the information given in 1540 by Pascual de Andagoya (1495–1548), but emphasizes the similarity between the sad and gloomy funeral *cantares* ('tristes [...] lúgubres') of the Indians and the Catholic Office of the Dead.⁵⁴

In the 1540s, the growing presence of a sizable African population added another element to the Spanish evangelization and acculturation efforts in the region. At this date in Cartagena, Juan Pérez Materano (d. around 1561), dean of the church and, according to early reports, very knowledgeable in music, began his work of acculturation among the growing population of African slaves. In 1546 he is praised for attracting 'male and female blacks to come to church and hear morning services at major feasts'.⁵⁵ Pérez Materano had been named dean in Cartagena in 1537 on account of his musical abilities, after having arrived in Panama two years earlier. In 1554 he obtained a license for ten years to print a tutor for both plainchant and polyphony. Despite the license having been renewed on two subsequent occasions (1557 and 1560), however, the volume appears never to have materialized.⁵⁶ According to Groot, more than forty Dominicans, ten Franciscans (including a Frenchman), and seven diocesan priests arrived in the Nuevo Reino between 1540 and 1550.⁵⁷ In the climate discussed above it is hardly surprising to find that their achievements were very limited indeed.

53 Fernández de Oviedo Gonzalo, *Sumario de la natural y general historia de las Indias* (Toledo, Remón de Petras: 1526), ch. X, 15v–16r.

54 Las Casas, *Apologética historia*, ch. CXLII, 635; Pascual de Andagoya, "Relación que da el adelantado", in Tovar Pinzón H. (ed.), *Relaciones y visitas a los Andes. Siglo XVI* (Bogotá: 1993) 94–186.

55 Stevenson R., "The First New World Composers: Fresh Data from Peninsular Archives", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23, 1 (1970) 95–106, at 99: 'negros y negras a oír las fiestas por la mañana'.

56 Bermúdez E., "Sabe en el canto lo que ha podido deprender en esta tierra...": Gonzalo García Zorro (c.1547/48–1617), mestizo, canónigo y primer maestro de capilla de la catedral de Santafé (Nuevo Reino de Granada), in Marín López J. (ed.), *Músicas coloniales a debate: Procesos de intercambio euroamericanos* (forthcoming).

57 See Groot J.M., *Historia eclesiástica y civil de la Nueva Granada*, 2 vols. (Bogotá: 1956–1957) I, 224–229 and Bermúdez E., "'Gold was Music to Their Ears': Conflicting Sounds in Santafé (Nuevo Reino de Granada), 1540–1570", in Baker G. – Knighton T. (eds.), *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: 2011) 83–101.

Around 1556 in Panama, Indians and the growing population of African and creole blacks were regularly being Christianized by secular priests like Pérez Materano as well as by Franciscan monks. The description of an incident concerning the pacification of a Maroon revolt around Nombre de Dios, on the Caribbean coast, offers a telling glimpse into early syncretic Afro-Christian rituals and their performance. Here, the rebel blacks had a 'bishop' who in proper vestments celebrated Mass, using wine and bread and singing 'a certain *cantar*' in the mother tongue that was performed in call and response between him and the congregation.⁵⁸ The African provenance of these Maroons, as analyzed by Tardieu, is consistent with our knowledge of the main trends for slavery during this period. The Guinea Rivers Portuguese trading forts were the main ports of embarkation (31.67%) and the second largest group came from the rivers of Sierra Leone (16.41%).⁵⁹ This may allow for speculation about the early presence of elements of the secret societies that characterize the cultures of the Coast of Malagueta (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast) that are present in such contemporary Afro-Colombian musical genres as *porro*, *chandé*, and *bunde*, all documented in the neighboring region between Panama and northern Colombia.⁶⁰ This also occurred in the context of the struggle between the Spanish government and the local American elites spurred by the implementation of the *Leyes Nuevas*, specifically in this case, the rebellion of Deputy Governor Fabricio de Godoy and City Council member Hernando de Luque against Governor Álvaro de Sosa in October 1556.⁶¹ Around 1571–1573 the black rebels aided French and English freebooters like Francis Drake, and their war continued until 1582 when the defeated Maroons agreed to accept Franciscan friar Diego Guillén and Dominican *doctrineros* that were documented in their villages up until 1599.⁶²

The hiatus in our knowledge about De Rijcke comes from a period of silence that coincides with his alleged support of the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro against the Spanish Monarchy. Mentioned, documented, and finally reproved by church historian Federico González Suárez, this episode motivated

58 Aguado Pedro de, *Recopilación Historial*, ed. J. Friede, 4 vols. (Bogotá: 1956–1957) IV, 109–112.

59 Tardieu J.-P., *Cimarrones de Panamá: La forja de una identidad afroamericana en el siglo XVI* (Madrid – Frankfurt: 2009) 215–216.

60 Bermúdez E., "Poro – Sande – Bunde: vestigios de un complejo ritual de África occidental en la música de Colombia", *Ensayos: Historia y Teoría del arte* 7 (2002–2003) 5–56.

61 Mena García M.d.C., *La sociedad de Panamá en el siglo XVI* (Seville: 1984) 300–305.

62 See Becker J., "Notas a los capítulos IX a XIII", in Aguado Pedro de, *Historia de Venezuela*, ed. J. Becker, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1918–1919) II, 230–231, and Tardieu, *Cimarrones de Panamá* 217–225.

a lengthy response of vindication by Franciscan historian Francisco Compte.⁶³ It is unclear what precise role De Rijcke played in the affair but his name is the only one mentioned in a letter from Pedro de Puelles (d.1547), governor of Quito, to Gonzalo Pizarro asking for instructions in dealing with the city's monks' apparent involvement with the newly appointed *visitador* and acting Viceroy La Gasca. This document clearly attests to the importance of the role of Franciscans and Mercedarians in the political events of the moment.⁶⁴

Around 1550–1551, the consolidation of the religious governments in Quito under Bishop García Díaz Arias (d.1562)—held in suspense by the rebellion of 1544–1548 and in suspicion by his close association with the Pizarro family—finally allowed for the creation of the Franciscan College of San Juan Evangelista. Father Francisco Morales, its first custodian, confirms in 1552 the support of the bishop and also that of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza. In 1557, prompted by the college's need to adjust to new political events, Morales drafted a new petition seeking the support of both the bishop and Governor Gil González Dávalos. The king's appointment of the Marquis of Cañete, Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza (c.1500–1561), as new viceroy of Peru in 1556 was rapidly recognized in two simultaneous gestures of homage. First, in 1557, Quito's Governor González Dávalos founded in southern Ecuador a new city named Cuenca, after the viceroy's birthplace in Spain. Second, the college was renamed to San Andrés, after the viceroy himself. These gestures of homage were apparently necessary to ensure the viceroy's favor in consolidating the royal patronage extended to the College in 1555, at that time protecting the Franciscans from civil interference by the Cabildo.⁶⁵ This tense climate of sudden changes might have prompted De Rijcke to send his 1556 letter summarizing the evangelization advances made in Quito. Later, according to the *Espejo de Verdades*, it is said that he taught the Indians to read, write, sing plainchant and polyphony, and to play string and keyboard musical instruments, sackbutts, shawms, recorders, trumpets, and cornetts.⁶⁶ In the same year De Rijcke reappears in documents now stating that he christened and supervised the

63 See González Suárez F., *Historia eclesiástica del Ecuador desde los tiempos de la conquista hasta nuestros días, I. 1520–1600* (Quito: 1891) 200–217, and Tibesar A., *Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru* (Washington, DC: 1953) 23–24.

64 Pérez Tudela de Bueso J. (ed.), *Documentos relativos a Don Pedro de la Gasca y a Gonzalo Pizarro, 2 vols.* (Madrid: 1964) I, 287, doc. CXCVI: "De Pedro de Puelles a Gonzalo Pizarro, De Quito a 11 de diciembre de 1546".

65 Vargas J.M., *Historia de la cultura ecuatoriana* (Quito: 1965) 14–22.

66 See Civezza, *Saggio di bibliografia geografica 253*. *Espejo de Verdades* is the title of a manuscript written around 1575 in La Española (modern Dominican Republic), whose present whereabouts are unknown; the manuscript is said to have belonged to the College of San

religious education of Francisco Atahualpa Auqui Tupactauchi (d.1583), one of the sons of Atahualpa who, in spite of having been a student at the Franciscan college, never learnt to read or write.⁶⁷

Documents relating to the Colegio de San Andrés from the period 1568–1573 reveal a period of reorganization characterized by a fight for survival. The new guardian of the Quito convent Alonso de las Casas insists in a letter to the king that the College of San Andrés enjoys royal patronage and has been annexed to the Convent of San Pablo, mainly destined to the education of the *naturales* (natives) centering on such religious and behavioral (*pulicia humana*) matters as ‘reading, writing, grammar, music, and playing on musical instruments’.⁶⁸ Apparently the college served additionally as a training center for Indians who replicated the acculturation program in towns covering the whole of the province. Pasto, in southern Colombia, is mentioned as a distant location reached by the musical activities of the pupils and in a report of 1568 it is said that ‘the land is now full of *cantores* and *tañedores* from Pasto to Cuenca, where there are many churches and monasteries and the Indians speak many different languages’.⁶⁹

Moreover, as in Mexico, musicians trained at the College of San Andrés before 1565 were also participating in the musical life of the city. In January 1565, Juan Cabezas de los Reyes, guardian of the Franciscan Convent of San Pablo, writes to the king stating that they serve the Divine Offices in most churches and parishes due to their great proficiency in ‘music, reading, writing, and knowledge of Latin’ and because of the lack of clerics in the region.⁷⁰

The music masters employed by De Rijcke, called Fray Jodoco in these documents, and his successors at the college were the ‘singing teacher’ (*maestro de cantar*) Becerra and his successor Andrés Laso, ‘master of singing and playing shawms, recorders [*flautas*], and keyboard instruments’; they were paid 500 and 300 pesos respectively for their services. Several other teachers who because of lack of funds were paid in kind (*limosnas*) are mentioned. The college also paid players of recorders (*flautas*) and other wind instruments

Acacio in Seville and in the 1880s it was apparently located at the Archivo General de Indias.

67 Oberem U., “Mitglieder der Familie des Inka Atahualpa unter Spanische Herrschaft”, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 5 (1968) 6–62, at 34–35.

68 Seville, AGI, Quito, 81, 51, fol. 2r.

69 Ibid., fol. 8r.

70 Ibid., 81, 20, fol. 1r.

(*ministriles*), and paid for the purchase or copying of books.⁷¹ The presence of Spanish teachers of vocal and instrumental music in Quito is similarly confirmed by the musical training of Alonso Atahualpa (c.1556–1589). As the son of the above mentioned Francisco Auqui and the grandson of Atahualpa he, like all ‘wellborn sons of hidalgos’, learnt to draw, sing, dance, and to play the vihuela, harp, harpsichord, guitar, and cittern.⁷²

While the Franciscans of Quito could not consider the evangelization of Francisco Auqui and his son Alonso as a success story, that of Cristobalico, on the other hand, was certainly worth mentioning. He was a ten-year-old Indian choirboy (*tiple*) from Caranqui near Otavalo in northern Ecuador. He was a pupil of the college who taught his parents and brought them to baptism.⁷³ This story was doubly emblematic since Caranqui had been the most persistent rebel province against Inca rule in northern Ecuador and it could only be appeased by great bloodshed.⁷⁴

Missionary efforts in neighboring Nuevo Reino de Granada and the other provinces of what is now Colombia were very unpredictable around 1558–1559. In Santafé, which housed the seat of government, there were only two small monasteries, both located outside the city. One was Franciscan with only six friars and the other was Dominican whose ten members were preoccupied with the urgent task of building a new house inside the city in terrain acquired just that year. The situation was similar in Tunja, northwest of Santafé, where the Dominicans had just begun constructing their monastery inside the city in 1558 with eight friars, while the Franciscans were still on the outskirts with only four. In Tocaima, southwest of Santafé, there was a Dominican monastery founded in 1558 with four friars and some lay brothers and in Cartagena there were only three friars in the Dominican monastery.⁷⁵ In 1548 in Pasto, on the border with modern Ecuador, Pedro Rodeñas, one of De Rijcke’s companions in Quito, had founded the Franciscan monastery of San Antonio. It is clear that the musical activities of the Quito College had reached them by 1559 when, in spite of its scattered population, there were some caciques converted

⁷¹ Ibid. 81, 51, fol. 8v.

⁷² See Oberem, “Mitglieder der Familie des Inka Atahualpa” 44–48 and idem, *Notas y documentos sobre miembros de la familia del Inca Atahualpa* (Guayaquil: 1976) 143, 146, 149, and 155.

⁷³ Seville, AGI, Quito, 81, 51, fol. 8r.

⁷⁴ Vega Garcilaso de la (El Inca), *Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales* (Madrid, Nicolás Rodríguez Franco: 1723), book ix, ch. xi, 315–316.

⁷⁵ “Visita de 1560”, in Tovar Pinzón H. (ed.), *No hay caciques ni señores: Relaciones y visitas a los naturales de América: Siglo XVI* (Barcelona: 1988) 21–120, at 73–74, 83, 91, and 112.

to the Christian faith who 'know how to read, write, and sing'.⁷⁶ However, the Dominicans had the upper hand, so it is understandable that a decade later the Franciscans wanted to reproduce Quito's successful results in the province of Popayán, in deep disarray for the whole decade as a result of the involvement in the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro and of several local Indian, creole, and mestizo insurrections.⁷⁷ Figures quoted by Tovar Pinzón allow us to estimate that in 1560 55.6% of the total Indian population was fighting against the Spaniards.⁷⁸

Hostile Indians and infighting amongst *encomenderos*, as well as their opposition to royal representatives, might have convinced the newly appointed bishop, Augustinian Agustín de Coruña (1508–1589), and the Franciscans friars that the province of Popayán needed someone like De Rijcke to reinforce the precarious religious presence in the Indian towns established in the *encomiendas*. De Rijcke's arrival in the city in 1569, however, did little to change the situation.⁷⁹ By July 1576, for instance, the local Paez Indians allied with the Pijaos had destroyed the church of San Antonio de Paez (northeast of Popayán) and had killed many Spaniards. Something similar happened in Pumbal, most probably present day Cumbal, where the church was destroyed, church ornaments were desecrated and stolen, and the *doctrinero*, most likely a Franciscan, was killed and his dead body ritually eaten.⁸⁰

In 1559, a wave of Indian insurrections and millenarian movements that coincided with the predictions of Michel de Nostredame (Nostradamus, 1503–1566) swept various areas of the Americas. This wave included uprisings in Popayán (Colombia) and Yucatán (Mexico) and the famous 'dance disease' or Taqui Oncoy in Quechua and Talausu in Aimara between 1565 and 1590.⁸¹ Moreover, real astronomic phenomena (a series of conjunctions of stars and planets)

⁷⁶ See Navarro J.G., *Los franciscanos en la conquista y colonización de América (fuera de las Antillas)* (Madrid: 1955) 41; 'Visita de 1560' 25: 'leer, escribir y cantar'.

⁷⁷ Friede J., *Vida y luchas de Don Juan del Valle, Primer Obispo de Popayán y protector de los Indios* (Popayán: 1961), chs. XIV–XV, 177–191.

⁷⁸ Tovar Pinzón H., "Introducción", in idem, *No hay caciques ni señores* 14–15.

⁷⁹ Navarro, *Los franciscanos* 108.

⁸⁰ Seville, AGI, Patronato, 233, 1, fols. 35r–36v.

⁸¹ For recent scholarship on Taqui Oncoy, see Millones L., "Mesianismo en América Hispana: El Taki Onqoy", *Memoria Americana* 15 (2007) 7–39; Roy H., "En torno del Taqui Oncoy: texto y contexto", *Revista Andina* 50 (2010) 9–52; and the special number of *Perspectivas Latinoamericanas* 12 (2015), at <https://www.ic.nanzan-u.ac.jp/LATIN/kanko/PL2013-2015.html>; especially Battcock C., "Para el fin que el demonio pretende: El baile y el temblor, un mal a erradicar en los Andes" 56–68 and Limón Olvera S., "El Taki Onqoy y los idólatras del centro de México: Resistencia y represión indígena en el siglo XVI" 41–55.

figure prominently in contemporary descriptions of such events as those occurring in Ubaque (southwest of Santafé, central Colombia) in December 1563. Here, a final effort invoking deities to put an end to three decades of domination led the Muisca to convene a gathering of thousands where human sacrifices were enacted, particularly that of the Mojas—child ritual singers bartered from peripheral regions who were sacrificed with darts tied to high poles put in fences of ritual compounds and whose blood was collected in small saucers at the base of the poles before being offered to the Gods. These ceremonies were accompanied by wordless *cantares* that provoked weeping among the Indians.⁸² Two decades later the Franciscans complained of extreme difficulty in their evangelization efforts at Ubaque, labeling their leaders as ‘extremely idolatrous’.⁸³ However, in 1563 Franciscans in Santafé were still very few and their work only gathered momentum at the end of the century. Neither the Dominicans nor the Augustinians, who shared with them the task of evangelization, could overcome the difficulties posed in this territory. In the 1580s some of the *doctrinas* were given to diocesan priests, some of whom had been musically trained at the Seminary College of San Luis in Santafé.

Finally, for our last period (1565–1575), let us examine two different approaches to evangelization by Dominicans in which music had different types of relevance. First, the well-known case of Fray Francisco de la Cruz (c.1529–1578) where theology, astrology, and magic combined to form a unique heterodoxy; and later that of Fray Luis Bertrán (1526–1581), mainly characterized by his deep spirituality and mysticism, nuanced, however, with strong actions against idolatry.

Born in Lopera (Jaén), De la Cruz arrived in Peru in 1561 and was burnt at the stake in Lima by the Inquisition in 1578. He was accused of more than a hundred charges that included heresy, magic, sedition, and complicity with demoniac female seers. De la Cruz firmly believed that Europe had come to an end and that the Indies and the Indians were destined to save society as a whole. He seems to have been acquainted with, possibly even friends with, fellow Dominicans Bartolomé de las Casas and Bartolomé de Carranza (1503–1576), the Archbishop of Toledo who died shortly after his trial for Lutheranism in

⁸² See Bermúdez E., “The Death of the Mojas: Human Sacrifices, Song and Ritual in the Nuevo Reino de Granada (Central Colombia), 1563”, *Flower World: Music Archaeology of the Americas* 2 (2013) 71–97.

⁸³ See ibid. 74 and Simón P., *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra firme en las Indias occidentales* (1627), ed. J. Friede, 7 vols. (Bogotá: 1981–1982) III, 370–371.

Rome.⁸⁴ Redden believes that De la Cruz aligned himself with Neoplatonic and Hermetic theories by which angels, as agents of change, could be controlled by incantations, geometry, and other tools.⁸⁵ In his visions, musical instruments (the vihuela and *cítara*) appear associated with the Apocalypse, St. Andrew, and the power of music.⁸⁶ On the other hand, according to Abril Castello, astrology was associated with theology in the teachings of the Dominican colleges of San Gregorio in Valladolid and San Esteban in Salamanca.⁸⁷ At one point in his interrogatory De la Cruz explicitly quotes the usefulness of 'concerting astrology with theology and revelations'. He was convinced that Doomsday would come in 1584, as predicted in the *Ephemeridum opus novum*, a book he read at the College of San Gregorio in Valladolid. It had been brought there by a certain Ochoa, a Dominican teacher of theology from Seville.⁸⁸ His *Declaración del Apocalipsi*, written in jail, reveals him as a sound theologian yet it exposes his belief in the total destruction that would follow if his 'reform' should be met with failure.⁸⁹

In the course of De la Cruz's lengthy judiciary process we find allusions to the historic failure of missionaries in the conversion of the Indians. Around 1569, as a *doctrinero* in Pomata (near Juli on Lake Titicaca, Peru), he transformed pre-Hispanic funeral chants or *lloros* into Christian litanies in the local language and had them sung in responsorial fashion by the young *cantores* of the school because the old *lloros* were openly and persistently performed behind the backs of the missionaries.⁹⁰ Once again, in 1569 he was doing the same as the Franciscans in Mexico and his fellow Dominicans in Guatemala in the 1530s and 1540s. However, this was the period when Taqui Oncoy radicalized and stubbornly persisted in southern Peru and northern Bolivia.⁹¹ In the 1580s Bartolomé Álvarez, a secular priest, found its practitioners in the same

⁸⁴ See Kamen H., *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–1763* (New York: 2003) 368–371 and Redden A., *Diabolism in Colonial Peru* (New York: 2015) 37–66.

⁸⁵ Redden, *Diabolism* 44.

⁸⁶ Abril Castello V. – Abril Stoffels M.J., *Francisco de la Cruz: Inquisición, Actas II-I: Del mito bíblico a la utopía india y andina* (Madrid: 1996) 1184–1186.

⁸⁷ Abril Castello V., "Estudio Preliminar II", *ibid.* 29–34.

⁸⁸ Abril Castello – Abril Stoffels, *Francisco de la Cruz* 815–816. The reference is to the *Ephemeridum novum atque insigne opus ab anno Domini 1556 usque in 1606* (Augsburg, Philippus Vilhardus: 1557) by the Bohemian mathematician, astronomer, and astrologer Cypríán Lvovický (or Cyprianus Leovitius) (1514–1574).

⁸⁹ Saranyana J.I. – Zaballa A. de, *Joaquín de Fiore y América*, 2nd ed. (Pamplona: 1995) 82–84.

⁹⁰ Abril Castello – Abril Stoffels, *Francisco de la Cruz* 639.

⁹¹ Roy, "En torno del Taqui Oncoy" 22.

area (Juli and southwards towards Oruro in Bolivia) and related that for this special ceremony—‘feast and song, as they call it’—they sang a ‘*cantar* without words, reasoning or maxims’, that sounded ‘u u, u u’.⁹² In this he coincides with the description of the wordless and lugubrious *cantares* associated with human sacrifices performed at the Ubaque ceremony of December 1563 mentioned above.

In his declaration, De la Cruz portrays himself as a normal missionary using conventional methods, yet his interest in magic and an apocalyptic mindset might have spurred him to employ unorthodox methods, unknown to us, in his dealings with Taqui Oncoy. De la Cruz might have seen Taqui Oncoy as a movement of renewal not at odds with his intended reform. Analogously, Bierhorst considers the *Cantares mexicanos* and the *Romances de los Señores de la Nueva España* as a revitalization of Mexica culture at a time of deep crisis when insurrection would have been futile.⁹³ Though still a matter of debate, this allows us to see Wachtel’s proposal of a connection between Taqui Oncoy and the Neo-Inca rebel state of Vilcabamba in its last stages in a wider perspective.⁹⁴ To that we can add the numerous insurrections of mestizos and creole Spaniards mentioned thus far.

Another paradigm for religious acculturation—perhaps more accommodating to the changing tide brought by church reforms in Europe—was the evangelization work carried out by the Dominican, and future saint, Luis Bertrán. This native of Valencia stands as possibly one of the best-documented examples of missionary activities in what is now Colombia during the period 1550–1570. At barely 26 years of age he was named master of novices at his monastery in Valencia and, although he expressed a wish to dedicate himself to further studies at the College of San Esteban in Salamanca, he was forced by his superiors to abandon this project, even despite the fact that he had obtained the necessary permission. Previous conversion experiences with the Morisco population at the Dominican Convent of Santa Ana in Albaida (Valencia), where he was vicar from 1557–1560, propelled him into a future in missionary work. By this time the fame of his prophecies and miracles had spread, just as

⁹² Álvarez Bartolomé, *De la costumbre y conversión de los indios del Perú: Memorial a Felipe II* (1588), ed. M.d.C. Martín Rubio – J.J.R. Villarrías Robles – F. del Pino Díaz (Madrid: 1998) 217, 124–126: ‘un cantar que no es palabras, ni razones ni sentencias, ni cosa que se pueda entender que dice algo. Sólo suena: “u u, u u”’.

⁹³ Bierhorst, *Cantares Mexicanos* 60–69, and idem, *Ballads of the Lords of New Spain: The Codex Romances de los Señores de la Nueva España* (Austin, TX: 2009) 19–20.

⁹⁴ See Wachtel N., *La vision des vaincus: Les Indiens du Pérou devant la conquête espagnole, 1530–1570* (Paris: 1971) 255–82, and Roy, ‘En torno del Taqui Oncoy’.

his connection with mystic and church reformer St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) had grown.⁹⁵ Perhaps his superiors knew him well and considered that theology was not for him. In the process of his canonization Bertrán's immense success as a missionary is entirely attributed to his miraculous and prophetic character and his austere, quiet, and exemplary life. It is claimed that he converted thousands, including apparently some Carib groups, in the provinces of Santa Marta and Cartagena as well as in neighboring Panama and the islands of St. Vincent, St. Thomas, and Grenada, before returning to Valencia in 1569. Scarcely sleeping and eating, surviving an assassination attempt, and escaping all temptations, he performed such miracles as being understood in Indian languages that he did not speak, stopping hurricanes, calming turbulent rivers, resuscitating the dead, curing the terminally ill, and seeing his prophecies and predictions come true. Yet while Bertrán reported visions of demons disguised as angels, raptures of suspension in the air, and speaking to celestial visitors—all suggesting his own mystical leanings—he also destroyed and burned Indian idols and temples with his own hands.⁹⁶

Early church historians such as the above-mentioned Gerónimo de Mendieta did not fail to account for the important changes that deeply affected conversion methods during this period. According to Phelan, Mendieta sees this period as the second phase in the history of the evangelization in America, a period contrasting with its golden age (1524–1564), an age that, according to him, ended in Mexico with the death of second Viceroy Luis de Velasco (1511–1564).⁹⁷ In the field of Spanish musical practice and education, Mendieta acknowledges changes and laments the diminished number of *cantores* and the reduced splendor in church devotions and processions.⁹⁸ In the case of Peru, Estenssoro proposes a similar periodization emphasizing the changes observed in the years around 1565, marked particularly by the arrival of the decrees of the Council of Trent and the proposal of a standardized, neutral, and universal Catholicism. This, then, was a period of deep contrast to the first one (1532–1564), marked as it was by instability and constant revision and in which Catholicism was obliged to adapt to native structures in order to gain

95 Wilberforce B., *Vie de Saint Louis Bertrand* (Paris: 1904) 81–84, 100–105, 111–113.

96 Ibid., second part, chs. II–VI, 129–194. Another biographer reports a visit to Guyana that Wilberforce denies (176–177).

97 Phelan J.L., *The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: 1970) 41 and 81. See also Martínez J.L., “Gerónimo de Mendieta”, *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 14 (1980) 131–195.

98 Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, book IV, ch. XXXII, 496–501.

acceptance.⁹⁹ This period is seen by historians such as Kamen as the end of the era of the *conquistadores*. It lasted until about 1573: on July 13 of that year Philip II at the Bosque de Segovia issued the *ordenanzas* that were intended, once again, to reorganize the government of the Spanish dominions.¹⁰⁰ The duration of the New Inca rebel state at Vilcabamba (1536–1572) could also be seen as emblematic of those important years of inflection. The ‘golden age’ of the missionaries, as Mendieta called it, had ended by mid 1560s as Indian societies all around America were engaged in reviving their own ‘golden age’. The arrival and consolidation of the Jesuits and the Counter Reformation in the next decades would prove to be important additional elements of yet another period of inflection covering the last quarter of the century.

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Index Nominum

- Acquaviva, Claudio 132, 140
Acualmetztlí (Ignacio Alarcon) 309
Aelst, Francesco van 168
Aerssen van Sommelsdyck, François van 204 n. 2
Agazzari, Agostino 47
Alarcon Ignacio *see* Acualmetztlí
Albizo, Francesco d' (Francesco degli Albizzi) 156, 163
Albrecht IV von Törring (Bishop of Regensburg) 197
Aldobrandini, Ippolito (Cardinal) 207 n. 8
Aldobrandini Borghese Pamphili, Olimpia 207 n. 8
Aleotta, Raphaela 81 n. 7
Alessandrino, Cardinal *see* Bonelli, Michele (Cardinal)
Alexander VII (Pope; Fabio Chigi) 87
Alvarado, Pedro de 309, 312
Álvarez, Bartolomé 321
Amador (Saint) 238 n. 11; 240–241, 243 n. 25; 251 n. 48; 256
Ancina, Giovenale (Blessed) 122
Andagoya, Pascual de 314
Angulo, Pedro de 313
Animuccia, Giovanni 116, 119, 155–156, 159, 161, 165, 167, 268
Animuccia, Tullia 159
Antegnati, Costanzo 42, 45
Antico, Andrea 114, 116
Antignano, Agnello 59
Aora (Ayora), Juan de *see* Auwera, Johan van der
Apolloni, Giovanni Filippo 215
Asola, Giovanni Matteo 45, 71–72, 74–76, 287
Assandra, Caterina 81 n. 7
Atahualpa 317–318
Atahualpa, Alonso 318
Atahualpa Auqui Tupactauchi, Francisco 317
Auwera, Johan van der 302 n. 6
Badalla, Rosa Giacinta 80, 81 n. 7
Banchieri, Adriano 287
Bandini, Patrizio 89 n. 33
Barberini (family) 220 n. 23
Barberini, Antonio (Cardinal) 220 n. 23
Barberini, Carlo 266
Barberini, Francesco, sr. (Cardinal) 207 n. 9, 260
Bargrave, Robert 79 n. 3
Barocci, Federico 51, 150–151
Baronio, Cesare (Cardinal) 152, 154
Barrè, Antonio 114
Bartolomuccio, Pietro 59
Basa, Domenico 76, 116–117, 126–127
Basalenque, Diego 304
Baussay, Julien 105
Becerra (music teacher) 317
Belcari, Feo 156
Beldemandis, Prosdocimo de 70
Bellarmine, Roberto (Saint) 135, 230
Bellée, Charles de 99
Benavente, Toribio de (Motolinía) 305–307
Benigni, Domenico 226
Benivieni, Girolamo 156
Berauld, Julien 96–99
Bernardini, Paolo 161
Bernardino da Siena (Saint) 21
Bernini, Francesco (music teacher) 84
Bertrán, Luis (Saint) 320, 322–323
Beurrier, Paul 144
Blackfan, John 175
Blado, Antonio 119, 127
Blanche of Castile (Queen of France) 139
Bona, Valerio 291
Bonaventure (Saint) 49
Bonelli, Michele (Cardinal) 161
Borghese (family) 230 n. 29
Borghese, Maria Virginia 87
Borromeo, Carlo (Saint) 6, 36, 42, 291
Bossi, Francesco 87
Bourgoing, François 144
Boyleau, Simone 286, 291
Bruguères, Michele 225 n. 25
Buat, Gilles 103
Buat, Marie 104
Buonarroti, Michelangelo 25
Burgundy, Joan 251

- Cabezas de los Reyes, Juan 317
 Çafont, Jaume Benet 244, 255
 Caldara, Antonio 215 n. 14
 Calvin, Jean 142
 Campaluci, Giacomo 90
 Cancer, Luis 313
 Cantone, Serafino 44
 Caproli, Carlo 225–226
 Caracciolo, Roberto (Roberto da Lecce) 21
 Carbonell, Pere Miquel 235
 Carissimi, Giacomo 215
 Carli, Caterina Angela 85
 Caro, Juan 301–302, 308
 Carranza, Bartolomé de 320
 Casoni, Agostino 292
 Castellani, Castellano de' 155–156
 Cavalieri (family) 268
 Cavalieri, Emilio de' 9, 125–126
 Cerone, Pietro 288
 Cesis, Sulpitio 81 n. 7
 Cesti, Antonio 90
 Chamaterò, Ippolito 50
 Charles v (Emperor) 48, 301, 305
 Charles ix (King of France) 94
 Charpentier, Marc-Antoine 17
 Chelli, Michele 156
 Chiffoleau, Jacques 234
 Chi, Gaspar Antonio 312
 Chigi, Agostino 87
 Chigi, Flavia 89
 Chigi, Flavio 89
 Chigi, Sigismondo 87, 89–90
 Chigi sisters 85
 Chigi Gori, Olimpia 89
 Christine (Queen of Sweden) 230 n. 29
 Cisneros, Francisco Jiménez de (Cardinal)
 303
 Clement viii (Pope; Ippolito Aldobrandini)
 35, 40, 159 n. 26; 168, 263
 Coattino, Francesco 116, 119, 127
 Colonna (family) 230 n. 29
 Colonna, Geronima (Duchess of Monteleone)
 122
 Colonna, Vittoria 49
 Conforti, Giovanni Luca 9, 122, 124
 Cortecchia, Francesco 50
 Cortés, Hernán 302, 309
 Coruña, Agustín de (Bishop of Popayán) 319
 Cossard, Jacques 102
 Couvreur Jean *see* Deckers, Johann
 Coyssard, Michel 106, 135–136, 141, 143,
 145–146
 Cozzolani, Chiara Margherita 80, 81 n. 7
 Creus, Francesc 253 n. 56
 Cristobalico (choirboy) 318
 Cruz, Francisco de la 309, 320–322
 Cuauhtemoc (Lord of Tlatelolco) 302
 Dalla Valle, Pietro 295 n. 32
 De' Navi, Eugenia 45
 Deckers, Johann 302 n. 6
 Del Tufo, Giovanni Battista 44, 45 n. 27
 Della Ciaia, Alessandro 88
 Della Ciaia, Berenice 87
 Della Rovere, Giulio (Cardinal) 51
 Dering, Richard 184
 Di Capua, Annibale 44
 Di Capua, Livia 44
 Di Capua, Vincenzo (Duke of Termoli) 44
 Díaz Arias, García (Bishop of Quito)
 316
 Dionysius the Areopagite 239
 Diruta, Girolamo 15
 Donangeli, Ascanio 153
 Donangeli, Girolamo 153
 Dorati, Niccolò 49 n. 37
 Dorico, Valerio 114, 116, 119, 127
 Dorrius, Eulalia 249
 Draghi, Antonio 215 n. 15
 Drake, Francis 315
 Du Fay, Guillaume 69
 Echard, Michel 99 n. 21
 Egidio da Viterbo 26
 Eiximenis, Francesc 239–241
 El Greco *see* Theotokópoulos, Doménikos
 Erasmus, Desiderius 26–27, 57
 Esperanza, Juan de 310
 Fabbrini, Giuseppe 90
 Fabbroni, Niccolò 156
 Faber, Sebastian 198
 Falconio, Placido 44, 50–51
 Fausti, Livia 91
 Ferdinand the Catholic (King of Aragon)
 235

- Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo 313
 Ferran, Magdalena 246
 Ferrarese, Paolo 290
 Ferreri, Pietro Maria 146
 Flórez, Andrés 145
 Flori, Benvenuto 88
 Folch, Magí 252
 Folengo, Teofilo 289, 298 n. 39
 Fontana, Serafino 44
 Forteguerri, Laudomia 91
 Francis I (King of France) 305
 Francis of Assisi (Saint) 28
 Francisco (Lord of Cuítahuac) 305
 François de Sales (Saint) 28
 Friedrich v (Elector of the Palatinate) 192
- Galganus (Saint) 91
 Gambuccio, Ippolito 59
 Gante, Pedro de *see* Moere, Pieter van der
 Gardano (family of printers) 49–50, 113,
 114 n. 6; 127
 Gardano, Alessandro 116, 119
 Gardano, Angelo 126 n. 37
 Gerung, Christoph 197
 Gesualdo, Carlo 42
 Ghibel, Eliseo 116
 Gibert, Arnald 244–245
 Giberti, Gian Matteo 37
 Gigli, Girolamo 86
 Gioacchino da Fiore 304
 Giovannelli, Ruggero (Ruggiero) 151
 Giovanni da Fiesole (Blessed) 266
 Gispert, Antic 250–251
 Giunta, Lucantonio 50
 Giustiniani (Giustinian), Leonardo 156
 Giustiniani, Vincenzo 294, 298
 Godoy, Fabricio de 315
 Gombert, Nicolas 49
 Gonzaga, Aloysius (Saint) 139
 Gonzaga, Ercole (Cardinal) 38
 González Dávalos, Gil 316
 Gori, Laura 89
 Granada, Luis de 47–48, 50 n. 40
 Granjon, Robert 74, 118–119
 Gregory xv (Pope; Alessandro Ludovisi)
 205 n. 4
 Guerrero, Francisco 48, 50, 116–117
 Guestier, René 99 n. 19
- Guidetti, Giovanni 74–75
 Guillén, Diego 315
 Guimera, Gispert de 252
 Gutiérrez de Padilla, Juan 43
- Hèle, Georges de la 118
 Henry III from Metz (Bishop of Trent) 56
 Hoë von Höenegg, Matthäus 196
 Hurtado de Mendoza, Andrés (Marquis of
 Cañete, Viceroy of Peru) 316
- Ignatius of Loyola (Saint) 24, 50 n. 40;
 205–206
 Ingegneri, Marc'Antonio 37
 Innocent X (Pope; Giovanni Battista
 Pamphili) 227 n. 27
 Innocenzi, Innocenzo 146
 Isnardi, Paolo 286
- Jachet of Mantua 37–38, 49, 251
 Jacopone da Todi 155–156
 Janequin, Clément 126 n. 37
 Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal (Saint) 28
 Jodoco, Fray *see* Rijcke, Joos de
 John II (King of Aragon) 235
 Jorda, Pere 246
 Juan Bautista (Amerindian friar) 308
 Julius III (Pope; Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del
 Monte) 267
- Kangxi (Emperor of China) 30
 Kölderer, Georg 193
 Kostka, Stanislas (Saint) 139
- La Gasca, Pedro de (Viceroy of Peru) 316
 La Mothe, Jacques de 102
 Ladrada, Rodrigo de 313
 Lancellotti, Tommaso 60, 65
 Landa, Diego de (Bishop of Yucatán) 311
 Las Casas, Alonso de 317
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de 143, 303, 312–314,
 320
 Laso, Andrés 317
 Lasso, Orlando di 48, 50, 180, 190
 Lauretano, Michele 274
 Le Gouverneur, Guillaume (Bishop of
 Saint-Malo) 101
 Le Maistre, Mattheus 141 n. 44

- Leedesma, Diego (Giacomo) de 10, 131, 135,
137, 141, 271
- León, Luis de 43
- Leonarda, Isabella 81 n. 7
- Leopard, Hieronym 249–250
- Leovitius, Cyprianus *see* Lvovický, Cyprián
- Leo xi (Pope; Alessandro Ottaviano de'
Medici) 161
- Liberati, Antimo 287 n. 14; 298
- Loarte, Gaspar de 50 n. 40
- Lobo, Alonso 180
- Lofre y Tamarrona, Alvira 248
- Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo 50 n. 39
- López, Jerónimo 138
- Lotti, Giovanni 220 n. 23; 222–223
- Louis ix (King of France) 139
- Louis XIV (King of France) 94
- Luis de Velasco (Viceroy of New Spain) 323
- Luque, Hernando de 315
- Luther, Martin 21, 27, 57, 142
- Lvovický, Cyprián 321 n. 88
- Madruzzo, Cristoforo (Cardinal) 66
- Magni, Bartolomeo 76
- Malipiero, Girolamo 36, 49
- Manzolino, Laura 44
- Marazzoli, Marco 12, 206
- Marc, Guillaume 134, 138–139, 141
- Marchal, Claudio 132
- Marenzio, Luca 151, 271 n. 34
- Margalcio, Angela 247
- Martin (Saint) 255, 262
- Martin, Gregory 263
- Martin, Guillaume 106
- Martini, Agostino 58
- Martini, Giambattista 50
- Mary I (Queen of England) 267
- Masini, Antonio 215
- Massaino, Tiburzio 45
- Massarelli, Angelo 66, 68
- Massenzio, Domenico 265
- Maunoir, Julien (Blessed) 132, 133 n. 15; 136,
138–140
- Maximilian I (Duke and Elector of Bavaria)
192
- Mazzocchi, Domenico 12, 207–208, 214, 219,
226, 228
- Meda, Bianca Maria 81 n. 7
- Medici (family) 46, 80, 159
- Medici, Alessandro de' *see* Leo xi (Pope)
- Medici, Francesco Maria de' 85
- Medici, Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' 156
- Mendieta, Gerónimo de 301, 302 n. 3;
323–324
- Mendoza, Antonio de (Viceroy of New Spain)
309, 316
- Mersenne, Marin 107–109
- Merulo, Claudio 113, 114 n. 6
- Mestres, Caterina 245
- Michi, Orazio (dell'Arpa) 12, 204, 209,
212–214, 219
- Milleville, Barnaba 42
- Moctezuma II (Emperor of Mexico) 302
- Moere, Pieter van der 144, 301–302, 307–308,
312
- Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin) 28
- Monluc, Blaise de 91
- Montalto, Cardinal *see* Peretti di Montalto,
Alessandro Damasceni (Cardinal)
- Monte, Philippe de 37–38, 41, 49 n. 37
- Monteverdi, Claudio 17
- Morales, Cristóbal de 49 n. 38; 116, 251
- Morales, Francisco 316
- More, Thomas (Saint) 303
- Morone, Giovanni 60
- Mortoft, Francis 204
- Motolinía *see* Benavente, Toribio de
- Mura, Pedro de *see* Moere, Pieter van der
- Muratori, Ludovico Antonio 292 n. 27
- Muzi, Nicolò 116, 122, 124–127
- Navarro, Miguel 40 n. 13
- Neri, Filippo (Saint) 10, 118–119, 121, 125, 149–
150, 152–155, 159, 161, 163, 165, 168
- Nostradamus (Michel de Nostredame) 319
- Ochoa (Dominican friar) 321
- Oliva, Giovanni Paolo 132
- Orsini, Lelio 224, 225 n. 26
- Ottoboni (family) 230 n. 29
- Paleotti, Gabriele 36
- Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da 17, 47, 50,
74, 112, 116, 260
- Pamphili (family) 227 n. 27; 230 n. 29
- Pampuro, Andrea 291 n. 25

- Paredes, Juan 59
 Parets, Miquel 239
 Pasqualini, Marc'Antonio 220
 Pasquini, Bernardo 230
 Paul (Saint) 44, 65, 154, 240–241
 Peralta, Gracia de 245
 Peretti di Montalto, Alessandro Damasceni (Cardinal) 209 n. 11
 Pérez Materano, Juan 314–315
 Persons, Robert 179, 181, 184
 Pesquera, Gregorio de 137, 143–144
 Peter of Alcántara (Saint) 85
 Petrucci, Alessandro (Archbishop of Siena) 84
 Petrucci, Ottaviano 113, 114 n. 6
 Philip II (King of Spain) 47, 173, 253 n. 56; 308, 312, 324
 Philip III (King of Spain) 174–175, 183 n. 39
 Philips, Peter 184
 Piccolomini, Celio (Archbishop of Siena) 88
 Piccolomini, Fausta 91
 Piccolomini, Francesca 87, 89
 Piccolomini, Francesco 89 n. 33; 90
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni 26
 Pius V (Pope and Saint; Antonio Ghislieri) 48, 66, 182, 267
 Pizarro, Gonzalo 315–316, 319
 Plantin, Christophe 118
 Podocattaro (Abbot) 165, 167 n. 37
 Pons, Beneta 244
 Pons, Pau 244
 Preti, Girolamo 207
 Puelles, Pedro de 316
 Puigfaver, Eufrasina 252
 Quiñones, Juan Vigil de 173
 Quiroga, Vasco de 303–304
 Ragazzoni, Girolamo 57
 Ramírez de Fuenleal, Sebastián 303
 Rampazetto, Francesco 113, 114 n. 6
 Razzi, Serafino 155, 159
 Remesal, Antonio de 312–313
 Resta, Agostino 291
 Reynoso, Francisco de (Bishop of Cordoba) 179
 Ricci, Caterina de' (Saint) 159, 161
 Ricci, Giovanni Battista (Fra Timoteo) 161
 Ricci, Matteo 30
 Ridolfi, Nicola 161
 Riera, Raffaele 259–261
 Rijcke, Joos de 312, 315–319
 Robert of Anjou (King of Sicily) 64
 Roberto da Lecce *see* Caracciolo, Roberto
 Rocca, Angelo 46–47
 Rodeñas, Pedro 318
 Rodio, Rocco 44–45, 116, 126 n. 37; 287
 Rore, Cipriano de 37, 49, 126 n. 37; 126 n. 38
 Rosenbach, Joannes 239
 Rospiigliosi (family) 230 n. 29
 Rossetti, Biagio 37
 Rossi, Luigi 220
 Rubens, Peter Paul 150–151
 Rudolph II (Emperor) 38
 Ruffo, Vincenzo 37, 112, 151, 291
 Sahagún, Bernardino de 311
 Salmon, François (de) 100
 Sansedoni, Giulio 161 n. 27
 Saraceno, Sigismondo (Archbishop of Acerenza and Matera) 38–39
 Sarmiento de Hajocastro, Martin 302
 Sarpi, Paolo 47
 Savonarola, Girolamo 26, 155–156, 159, 161, 164–165
 Scherer, Georg 12, 188
 Scotto (family of printers) 49–50, 113, 114 n. 6
 Segneri, Paolo, sr. 140, 146
 Serafí, Pere 253
 Serradell de Vic, Bernat 238
 Sessa, Claudia 81 n. 7
 Sforza, Guido Ascanio (Cardinal of Santa Fiora) 155
 Sforza, Pallavicino (Cardinal) 47
 Signorucci, Pompeo 296
 Sixtus V (Pope; Felice Peretti di Montalto) 35, 187
 Sorribes, Hieronym Galceran Serapio de 253
 Sorribes, Joan de 254
 Sorribes y Aparissi, Ángela 253–254
 Sosa, Álvaro de 315
 Tarugi, Francesco Maria (Cardinal) 154
 Tecto (Techo), Juan de *see* Deckers, Johann

- Tello de Sandoval, Francisco 309
 Tenamaztle, Francisco (Lord of Nochistlán and Jalisco) 309
 Teresa of Ávila (Saint) 31, 43, 323
 Theotokópoulos, Doménikos (El Greco) 47
 Thomas Aquinas (Saint) 24, 165
 Thomas of Villanova (Saint) 85
 Tibaldi, Pellegrino 50 n. 39
 Timoteo, Fra *see* Ricci, Giovanni Battista
 Tobilla, Cristóbal de la 313 n. 52
 Tornabuoni, Lucrezia *see* Medici, Lucrezia
 Tornabuoni de'
 Torquemada, Juan de 301
 Torredemar, Magdalena Ursula 252
 Torsellini, Orazio 135, 146
 Traversari, Ambrogio 26
 Tresserres, Lorenç 247, 255
 Trissina, Alba 81 n. 7
 Tronsarelli, Ottavio 207 n. 8; 215 n. 14
 Ugurgieri Azzolini, Isidoro 83
 Urban VIII (Pope; Maffeo Barberini) 207 n. 8; 222
 Valencia, Martín de 301–302, 305–306
 Vall, Pere 238, 240 n. 19
 Valla, Lorenzo 25
 Vecchi, Orfeo 291
 Verovio, Simone 121–122, 127
 Verstegan, Richard 181
 Vetter, Conrad 195–196
 Viadana, Lodovico 40, 76
 Victoria, Tomás Luis de 50, 71–76, 116–118
 Vila, Pere Alberch 250–251
 Vilanova, Andreu 251
 Vimercato, Antonio 58
 Vimercato, Vincenzo 58
 Vincent de Paul (Saint) 28
 Vinci, Pietro 49 n. 37
 Vittori, Loreto 205, 216, 224
 Vizzana, Lucrezia 80, 81 n. 7
 Volcius, Melchior 194–196
 Wilhelm v (Duke of Bavaria) 197
 Willaert, Adrian 49
 Winterburger, Johannes 67
 Xavier, Francis (Saint) 136, 139, 143, 146
 Zanetti, Francesco 116
 Zarlino, Gioseffo 44
 Zumárraga, Juan de (Bishop of Mexico) 308–309